



J. Amm. Scul.





J. Amm. Scul.

THE *Bayly 17*  
LIFE and DEATH

Of the RENOWNED

JOHN FISHER,

Bishop of ROCHESTER,

Who was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, the 22d  
of *June*, 1535, and in the 27th Year of  
the Reign of King *Henry VIII.*

Comprising

The highest and hidden Transactions of Church  
and State, in the Reign of King *Henry the*  
*Eighth*; with divers Moral, Historical, and Po-  
litical Animadversions upon Cardinal *Wolsey*,  
*Sir Thomas More*, and *Martin Luther*; with a  
full Relation of Queen *KATHARINE's* Divorce.

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Carefully selected from several antient Records, by  
*THOMAS BAILEY, D. D.*

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*Vivit post funera virtus.*

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The Third EDITION.

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THE  
BOOKSELLER  
TO THE  
READER.

WHEN I had resolved to reprint the Life of *Bishop Fisher*, I consulted some Persons of Learning about this new Edition, and found, as it often happens, a difference of Tastes and Opinions: Now that I give it to the Publick, I have still more grounds to apprehend a various Reception, unless I may perchance gain over the Opposers by relating what the Encouragers have suggested to engage me to set it forth in its own native dress, wherein it now appears.

A 2

I found

## *The Bookfeller*

I found indeed these Gentlemen, whose Advice I requested, unanimous in this, that they all affirm'd that, tho' the Style and Language (more especially in the Beginning of the Book) is not altogether in the modern Taste, nevertheless, the Book, on account of the Importance of the Subject, could not fail to be acceptable to the Publick: But what I found them to differ in was, their Advices about a Revival and Amendment of the Work: Some said, the Phrase and Diction should be changed to the Relish of the present Age; others affirmed that no Correction should be made, except in such places, where in the former Editions there are manifest Errors of the Press; these Persons

*to the Reader.*

sons owned a Reformation were  
adviseable had the Book been a  
Fiction, intended only for Amuse-  
ment, or had it been proposed  
as a Model for the Imitation of  
young Persons in the Art of Speak-  
ing or Writing; but considering  
the nature of the Book, they ab-  
solutely forbid to touch it for se-  
veral Reasons: In the first place,  
because, such as it is, we have what  
we shou'd chiefly wish for, all at  
least that is Essential to a real Hi-  
story of the kind, and what it  
fails in cannot now be considera-  
bly amended, but by giving a new  
one on the Subject; which any  
one, who is prepared for it, may  
do on his own Bottom, with more  
Advantage to the World, and to his  
own Reputation, than by attempt-



## *The Bookseller*

ing it upon our Author's Plan;  
and in the mean time the Publick  
need not be deprived of the Satisfac-  
tion they may reap from this,  
wherein they find related by an  
antient, candid, and sufficiently  
judicious Author, in his own man-  
ner, and in Words intelligible  
enough, a Series of Facts of high  
Importance, and the Life of a  
great and illustrious Prelate, who  
not only in his own Age was the  
Admiration of all the Courts of  
*Europe*, but even since his Death  
has been mentioned with Applause  
and Veneration by Historians, e-  
ven by those whose opposite  
Sentiments and Party inclin-  
ed them to obscure, as far as  
in them lay, the Glory of his  
Character. Those Gentlemen,  
whose

*to the Reader.*

whose Sentiments I speak, added, that it has been evermore accounted an unpardonable Attempt in publishing the Works of antient Authors, to pretend to make them speak just as we like; that we should let them tell their Story in their own way, that the very Words, of Historians especially, should be transmitted to Posterity; that an Alteration might cause the Work to be suspected of Adulteration; that it is a kind of Sacrilege to touch the publick Records, for Histories are such that the judicious and candid Reader will not be offended at the antient Dress in which our Author cloaths his History, which perhaps was not unfashionable in his Days, that the cu-  
A 4 rious,

## *The Bookseller, &c.*

rious, far from finding fault with what may seem uncommon now; may find a pleasure in observing the variety of Styles in different Ages, and the changes which happen to Language.

These are the principal Reasons, I can recollect to have heard from those Gentlemen, to whose Judgment I have submitted: I thought them weighty, at least sufficient to determine me to take no farther Pains about the Matter, than to give it as I find it; and I offer them here as an Apology to some Gentlemen, who perhaps may take offence that I did not follow an Advice, which should have proved both troublesome and tedious.

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THE  
LIFE and DEATH

Of the most Renowned

JOHN FISHER,

Bishop of ROCHESTER.

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CHAP. I.

1. *The time and place of his birth.* 2. *How suitable both his names were with his condition.* 3. *His comparison unto John the Baptist.* 4. *His temperance in diet, and retirement of life.* 5. *His education, and preferment.* 6. *The countess of Richmond (the king's mother) her great desire of winning him to her service.* 7. *The great good deeds which she performed by his persuasion.*

**A**T the time when the stars of heaven frowned upon the nation, to behold innocence swaying the scepter of this land so misbecomingly;

B

in

in the seven and thirtieth year of the reign of the most noble, though unfortunate, king Henry the VI. and in the year one thousand four hundred fifty and nine, after the time that a virgin-daughter had produced her father, and a creature her creator: when the blessed vine sprang from the same grape it bare, and the root of Jesse shot from the spring, the divine providence brought forth an under-sucker, whose after-growth made it soon known unto the world, how worthily he received the two names (which both his Baptism and his parents had bestowed upon him, within the collegiate church and town of Beverley, situate within the province of York, about eight-score miles distant, north-wards, from the head city of the nation) *viz.* of JOHN and FISHER: of John, being so like unto John the Baptist, who was twice baptized, first with water, secondly with blood. As by the first he was named John, so by the second he deserved to be stiled John the Baptist, having so fitly sympathized with the fore-runner of his Saviour, by his following Christ; that his, like unto the other's head, became both fountain, and their senseless trunks, streamers of blood; whilst the spectators eyes became rivers of water.

The

The first's head was begged of king Herod, at a banquet of wine, by a psaltress, or woman-dancer; by the like light pair of heels, the second John, of whom we treat, his head was begged of king Henry, whilst he was banqueting and making merry at his house of Hanworth.

The first was beheaded on the birth-day of king Herod; the second was beheaded on the birth-day of king Henry, having that very day completed the just age of five and forty years.

And as the holy finger of saint John the Baptist, which pointed to the lamb when he said *ecce Agnus Dei*, was miraculously preserved from corruption for a long space of time after his martyrdom; so the head of this most blessed martyr, wherewith he defended (and that so manfully) the holy Catholick Church, and head of his mother, was by the like miracle preserved from corruption a long time after it was stuck up upon the bridge of London, with a fresh and lively colour, until such time as, by commandment from the king, it was taken down, and conveyed away from the sight of men. The first made a wilderness his habitation: the second turned his palace into a wilderness and place of solitude; so austere curbing  
 B 2 his



his wanton appetite with the most spare and Lessian diet, that he made his refection to be his locusts; and so cooling his infrequent pleasures with sighs, and faucing them with so many tears, that he made the self-same bitter sweetings his wild honey; the first wearing only a girdle, but the second continually a shirt of coarser hair. Only in this they may seem to differ in their agreement: the one diligently preached the coming of Christ to be at hand, giving notice of salvation to all that would believe and be baptized: the other as diligently, by his continual preaching and writings, giving warning to all his country-men of Christ's departure from their coasts, if, like the Gergesites, they preferred their own swine before salvation.

Thus did the two cherubims over the mercy-seat; who seemed opposite to one another, yet both of them mutually beholding the same ark that stood between them. These two, with contrary faces mutually beheld the same object of which that was but a perspective.

Both these died for a cause of matrimony; the first, for saying to king Herod, "it is not lawful for thee to take thy brother's wife;" the second, for saying to king Henry, "it is not lawful  
for

“ for thee to put away thy brother’s  
“ wife.”

Obj. How shall we reconcile these two assertions, and make both them and their assertion good and lawful?

Sol. Herod, to whom the first so spake and reprehended, had taken to his bed his brother’s wife, his brother living, which was repugnant to the Law of God: but Henry to whom the second spake, as is before rehearsed, only took to wife his brother’s wife, his brother being dead, having neither issue by, nor knowledge of her; which, by Moses’s law in such cases, is not forbidden, and therefore easily dispensed with, according to the rules of ecclesiastical authority. And,

If this be sufficient to shew you how deservedly the name of JOHN was bestowed upon the subject of our story at his baptism, the remainder of the history will let you see how worthily he deserved also to be called FISHER; being as indeed he was, a true fisher of men, as after shall appear.

His father’s name was Robert Fisher; his state sufficient; his reputation among the best; his condition a merchant; the place of his abode within the aforesaid town of Beverley, a place where the blessed and glorious confessor, St. John of

Beverley, archbishop of York, sometime lived, and preached the Gospel. These we may suppose to be the causes why the father gave unto this son that name, as a looking-glass unto his eye, a spur unto his feet, and as a copy for his hand; a consideration too much neglected in these our days, as if our names were only given us for distinction-sake, or civil use, and not as obligations unto christian piety.

This Robert Fisher, after he had lived many years in good esteem and credit amongst his neighbours, died, leaving behind him this John Fisher, of whom we treat, and a younger son, who bare his father's name; both in their tender age.

Their mother's name was Ann, who in process of time married one Wright by name, by whom she had three sons, John, Thomas, and Richard; and one daughter, which was called Elizabeth, and afterwards was a professed Nun in Dartford: and yet these three sons, together with a husband that was living, no way stood between her and the piety which she owed unto the dead, as that she any way neglected the former two, but gave them the best education that could be had, at expence of those legacies



gacies which the deceased parent had provided for them in that behalf. In order whereunto, as soon as ever they were capable of learning, they were put to school, and committed to the care and custody of a priest of the said collegiate church of Beverley, being a church which in ancient time hath been richly endowed with lands and possessions. There this John Fisher, among other children, was first taught his letters, and the rudiments of grammar; where he continued not many years, but the bladeing of the field soon informed the labouring husbandman of the gratefulness of the earth to which he had committed, with so liberal a hand, so great a trust; which appearing daily more and more, the counsel of his friends at last thought it fitting to humour, so much as in them lay, the genius of so promising a proficient; insomuch that, like a tender sapling fitted for transplantation, he was taken from his nursery to be disposed of in so fair a garden of the muses, so ancient and flourishing an university, as is that *alma mater*, which is called Cantabrigia, where he was committed to the government of one Mr. William Melton, a reverend priest, and grave divine, afterwards master of the college called

Michael-house in Cambridge, and doctor in divinity: under whom he so profited in few years, that he became master of all the arts, before such time as he had received the degree of batchelor, which he received in the year of our Lord, 1488, and his degree of master the third year following: where, being suddenly elected fellow of that house, he was as shortly after chosen proctor of the university: in which space of time, according to the ancient laws and statutes of his college, he took upon him the holy order of priesthood. And now did the almond-tree begin to bud; all other arts and sciences were but his tools, but this his occupation: and no wonder it was that he, that went through with his philosophy so heavenly, should be so excellent at the heavenly philosophy; in so much that his disputations in divinity, according to the order of the schools, were rather determinations than disputes; so that in a short space he grew to such profoundness in those heavenly mysteries, that envy herself left canvassing for palms, while virtue, her companion, accounted him the flower of all the university, who in his due time proceeded to the degrees of batchelor, and afterwards of doctor in divinity; which

which with no small applause he obtain'd in the year of our redemption 1501.

In which interim, it happened that doctor Melton (of whom we before have made some mention) was preferred to the dignity of chancellor of the cathedral church of York; whereby the mastership of Michael-house in Cambridge became vacant: whereunto, by a most free and willing election of all the fellows of that house, this man (as the most deserving of all other) was worthily promoted; who by his acceptance made the proverb good, *magistratus arguit virum*: for who more fit to play the master, than he that knew so well how to act the disciple? in which office he behav'd himself so worthily that (as a mirror from whence all governors of other houses might well take their pattern or resemblance) for his worth's sake, he was soon after chosen vice-chancellor: and as if one year had not graced sufficiently so great a worthiness, he was continued in the same office for another year: and had not his fame, passing the bounds of the university, spread itself so far over the whole realm, as that at length it reached the ears of the most noble and virtuous lady, Margaret countess of Richmond, mother to the wise  
B. f. and



and sage prince Henry the VII. (who, hearing of his great virtue and learning, never ceased till she had wrought him to her service) he might have been, where he was twice together, perpetual dictator: who afterwards mounted the high capitol of chancellorship of that university, a dignity which is able to adorn the brightest purple.

But now vice-chancellorship, mastership, and all, must be laid down as at her feet, who with her knees requites the courtesy, whilst she kneels unto him as her ghostly father. Remaining in which office, he behaved himself so temperately and discreetly, that both the countess and her whole family were altogether governed and directed by his high wisdom and discretion. Having by these opportunities lodged much divinity within his mistress's soul, and the divine himself within her heart, he makes it soon known unto the world what love it was wherewith he prosecuted so fair an opportunity, viz. to make his mistress a most glorious queen in heaven, and himself acceptable in doing good, improving all that opportunity, not to the advantage of himself in worldly honour, but to the inclination of his mistress's mind to works of mercy: and finding  
in

in her own natural disposition a liberality and bountifulness to all sorts of people, his work was only to advise her, that that bounty should not run a course where it might be sure to lose its due reward; but that it might bestow itself in deeds of alms, to the poor; in redemption of captives, in marrying poor and distressed virgins, in reparation of bridges and highways: in many such deeds of charity he implored her, who easily was won thereto, to employ so large a talent as God had given her, that she might reap plentifully by sowing much.

Nor did he suffer her to rest thus satisfied with the distribution of such Gifts of bread and worldly food; but, at his persuasion also, she erected two noble and goodly colleges in Cambridge, to the glory of God, and benefit of his church: the one whereof she dedicated to Christ our Saviour, and called it Christ's college, largely endowing the same with store of maintenance, for all manner of learning whatsoever: this college she in her life-time beheld built and finished with stone and brick, as it now standeth. The other she dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, endowing it with like proportion of maintenance,  
to

to the same intent and purpose: but she lived not to see this college finished, but it was completed after her death by this good man at his own cost and charges, as hereafter shall be declared.

Also upon his motion, she ordained a divinity-lecture in Cambridge, and another in Oxford, to be openly read in the schools, for the benefit of such as should be preachers; to the intent that the dark and hard places of scripture might be opened and expounded; in maintenance whereof, she gave good store of land to be disposed as stipends to the readers, and that for ever. What good cannot such a man do, who held such keys within his hand, such a lady at his feet?

**C H A P**



## C H A P. II.

1. *His preferment to the bishoprick of Rochester.*
2. *His contentedness with that small diocess.*
3. *His promotion to the high-chancellorship of Cambridge.*
4. *His care and vigilance in that Office.*
5. *His opposing of Martin Luther.*
6. *His excommunicating of Peter de Valence, and his tender-heartedness therein.*
7. *His election to the mastership of Queen's college.*

**T**Hese proceedings of his (together with many other performances of deeds of charity procured from others, whereof not any one was ever performed whereunto according to his ability he did not set his helping hand, together with his daily preaching to the people with most careful diligence) gained him so much love and reverence from all sorts of people, especially from the bishops, and all the clergy in general, that that most worthy and grave prelate bishop Fox, bishop of Winchester (a man in no small authority and esteem with king Henry the VII. of whose council he was) never left so commending of him to the king upon all occasions

occasions (as he saw his time convenient) for his virtuous life, and perfect sanctity, until such time as (by the death of William Barnes bishop of London, Richard Fitz-James bishop of Rochester being translated unto that see, the bishoprick of Rochester became vacant) he found his opportunity to present this doctor Fisher as a fit and worthy pastor for that cure: nor was it otherwise possible but that so great a glory about the moon should borrow (though but by reflection) some small lustre from the sun. Whereupon the king directed his letters to the chapter of the church of Rochester, to the intent they should elect the nominate within his letter for their bishop; whereunto, without any the least contradiction or negative voice, they all most willingly assented; which acts of theirs was shortly afterwards confirmed by the see apostolic, by Julius the II. pope at that time, in the month of October in the year of our redemption 1504, and of his age, 45.

This sudden and unexpected promotion of this holy man (in regard he never had been formerly advanced to any other dignity of the church) caused some to suspect and deem it as a thing that was purchased, either by his mistress's

stress's purse or favour, from the king her son; which when it was told unto the king, his majesty replied, "indeed the modesty of the man, together with my mother's silence, speak in his behalf;" solemnly protesting that his mother never so much as opened her mouth for him in that particular; and openly affirming that the pure devotion, perfect sanctity, and great learning, which he had observed, and often heard to be in the man, were the only advocates that pleaded for him, the truth whereof may be gathered out of the very statutes of St. John's college in Cambridge, where he took occasion to praise (much to the honour of) the king, at whose hands so frankly and so freely he received this donation. The like mention he makes of the king's bounty and liberality towards him, in his epistle dedicatory to Richard Fox bishop of Winchester, before the book which he wrote against Oecolampadius, where he makes mention of the king as his chiefest and best friend and patron.

So far was this good man from making any interest by friends to be a bishop, that all the friends he had could scarce persuade him to accept the office, after it was granted to him; which modesty  
of



of his was very much confirmed by the sequel of his deeds; for, at one time after another, being offered the two great bishopricks of Lincoln and Ely, he refused both, and from the hands of Henry the VIII. but we may behold him, in the foresaid epistle dedicatory, not only satisfying, but enjoying himself with his little flock, where his words have this beginning. *Habeant alii proven-tus pinguiore*, &c. "Others may have  
 "larger pastures, but I have lesser charge  
 "of souls; so that when I shall be called  
 "to an account for both, I shall be the  
 "better able to give an account of either:" not making so high and heavenly an office a stair-case whereby we climb unto preferment; but so small a bishoprick a competent height whereby he might so over-look the plains that were under him, that, in the end, with too large a prospect, he did not lose his own eyes.

Thus being mounted in the king's favour, there will not be wanting those who will be ready to say concerning such a one, "thus shall it be done to the  
 "man whom the king honours;" and accordingly the university of Cambridge (considering with themselves what benefit they had received already at his hand,  
 and

and what future benefit they might receive) with a grateful and prudent mind and forecast, unanimously chose and ordained him their high chancellor; a magistracy that hath no less authority and jurisdiction thereunto belonging, than of an archbishop, in causes spiritual; and of a high judge, in causes that are temporal.

Hitherto we have traced him to his bishoprick, and high dignity of chancellorship of the most renowned university of Cambridge; how he behaved himself in both these places, we shall leave the mentioning of those particulars to the *post funera* of this history, as most proper for them: only it shall suffice for the present, that his whole life seemed to the world to be no other-wise than as if he had used the church as if it had been his cloister, and his study as his cell; governing his family with such temperance, chastity, and devotion, as if his palace for continency had been a monastery, and for learning an university.

In the year of our redemption 1509, it happened that the most wise and fortunate king Henry the VII. departed this life, upon the twentieth day of May, being upon a Sunday; whereupon he had the opportunity to perform two acceptable

ceptable and good offices, and both of them deeds of charity; whereby he gained unto himself great applause and commendation: the one, in comforting the sorrowful mother of the king, his mistress, who seemed to be overwhelmed with grief, who received great contentment in his consolations: the other, in edifying the people by his sermon, which he preached at the funeral-solemnity of the king's burial, exhorting them to the imitation of those noble and virtuous actions, which they saw to have reigned more over his passions, than himself had exercised authority over his subjects; pouring into every ear an antidote against the fear of death, and a preservative unto eternal life.

About the year 1517, at the time when this worthy bishop of Rochester had governed his see 12 years, Luther began in Germany to set up his new-found doctrine, then (as himself reports) unknown to the world. But the divine providence, who never suffered an Athanasius, a Liberius, or an Hilary to be wanting, where there was an Arius risen up to rend and tear the undefiled spouse of Christ (his church) in pieces; nor a Damasus, Gregorius, Basilius, or a Nazianzen, where there was a Macedonius;  
nor



nor a Celestin, or a Cyril, where there was a Nestorius; nor a Leo, where there was an Eutyches; nor an Irenæus, where there was a Valentine; nor a Tertullian, where there was a Marcion; nor an Origen, where there was a Celsus; nor a Cyprian, where there was a Novatus; nor a Jerome, where there were Helvidians, Jovinians, Vigilantians, and Luciferians; nor an Austin, where there was a Donatus, or a Pelagius; did not suffer such a Leviathan to roll about, and beat the sides of that ship into which Christ entered, out of which he taught, and of which St. Peter was the only master, but that there should be still a Fisher, to oppose and wound the monster with such harping irons, as that this kingdom never was much troubled with his doctrines, while this good bishop lived; nor ever could have had its entrance, till the other's exit brought it in. For,

Hearing that several of Luther's books and writings were brought over by merchants (whose profession, though it deserves to be ranked among the best of educations, yet, like Solomon's merchants, they sometimes bring home, together with their gold from Ophir, apes, and peacocks feathers) and dispersed among

among the people (too apt to entertain any new fashion, of their souls as well as of their bodies) and how the people swallowed down the novelty, that was so tawdered with pretences: like unto some general, who, hearing of the approach and march of an enemy, hastens to his army; with no less a cause of vigilancy did so great a champion of the church hasten to so great a charge, the university, of which he was their chancellor, that he might take an account in what condition the main body of all learning stood, whereby ability might be drawn up in the safest posture to defend the faith. But,

No sooner was he come among them, but he might perceive tares to be already sprung in so fair a seminary where so much good seed was sown. For

About the same time, it fell out that pope Leo the X. had granted forth a general and free pardon (commonly called indulgences) according to the ancient custom and tradition of the catholick church, to all christian people that were contrite, through all the provinces of christendom; which is no otherwise than an application, by that ministry, of the superabundant merits of our blessed Saviour (who shed so many, when the least one

one drop of his most precious blood was able to have redeemed a thousand worlds) to the souls of true believers. This Luther formerly having written against; and the bishop, and chancellor of the university, being careful the students there, as well as others standing in need of such a remedy, might be partakers of the heavenly bounty; and causing certain copies of those pardons to be set up in sundry places of the university (one whereof was fixed upon the school-gate) a man without a name came secretly in the night-time, and wrote over the pardon, which was there fixed, these words, *Beatus vir cujus est nomen Domini spes ejus, et non respexit vanitates et insanias falsas (istas)* thinking the word (*istas*), which he had added, would have brought the pope and all his clergy within the premunire of the statute of God's word, for setting up that pardon, whilst he forgot the several punishments which are threatned, by the same word, to all those who shall add or diminish to the book of life.

In the morning, the school-doors being opened, and the scholars resorting thither according to their wonted manner, and beholding this strange spectacle, there needed no Shibboleth to distinguish:



guish: catholicks were much offended at so great an abuse of holy scripture: others approved the fact, and thought it a fine thing, as they were severally addicted.

The chancellor, having notice hereof, was struck with horror at the no less boldness than wickedness of the fact; whereupon he endeavoured to find out the party, by the knowledge of his hand; but that in vain: then he called a convocation, where he declared unto them for what cause they were convened; lays before them the foulness of the deed; interprets the true meaning of the abused places of scripture; explicates the true and wholesome meaning of the words Pardons and Indulgence; justifies the holy use thereof; acquaints them with the great displeasure that might justly ensue at the hands both of the Almighty and of the king, if so wicked a fact should pass unpunished; tells how great a discredit it would be to the university, that never had such a spot upon her breast before; and, at length, moved the author (though unknown) to repentance, and confession of his sin, that he might be forgiven; which if he would perform within a time prefixed, he assured him in God's name; but, if the contrary,

trary, such remedy should proceed against him as is provided in such like cases in God's holy church, by Christ himself; viz. to be cut off, like rotten members, from the body of Christ's church, by the censure of excommunication; which not being performed at the time prefixed, on the delinquent's part, he called another convocation, where there was a great assembly; and fearing the infection of others, by the obstinacy of one, he betook him to his last remedy, and taking the bill of excommunication in his hand, he began to read it: but, when the words began to sit heavy upon his tongue, according to the weight of the sentence, the fire of love (as if within some limbeck, or beneath a *balneo mariæ*) kindling within his breast, sent such a stream up into his mind as suddenly distilled into his eyes, which, like an overflowing viol, reverberates the stream back again to the heart, 'till the heart surcharged sends these purer spirits of compassion out at his mouth, which could only say, that he could read no farther. Good God! into what compassion did the mildness of such a nature strike the beholders, who were all of them by this time mollified into the same affection? insomuch that they all

all left off without any farther proceedings in the excommunication for that time.

Nevertheless a third day being appointed for the same purpose, and time having brought on the day, there was a great multitude of people, where the chancellor with a heavy countenance declared, how that no tidings could be heard either of the person or his repentance: wherefore now, seeing there was no other remedy, he thought it necessary and expedient to proceed; and so, arming himself with a severe gravity, as well as he could, he pronounced the terrible sentence from the beginning to the end; which being done, with a kind of passionate compassion he threw the bill unto the ground, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, sat down and wept. Which gesture and manner of behaviour, both of his mind and body, struck such a fear into the hearts of all his hearers and spectators, that many of them were afraid the ground would have opened to have swallowed up the man, but that they hoped he was not there. But did all these tears fall to the ground? were none of them bottled up, whereby they might become the wine of angels? certainly men may repent, as well as weep, by proxy: tears have their voices in the  
parliament



parliament with God ; and the same God that washeth us so clean with the laver of regeneration by the faith of others, may, by the prerogative of his mercy, call us for the repentance-sake of other men. For,

So it appeared by this delinquent ; who, having not the grace as yet bestowed upon him of repentance, so many repenting for him, became repentant. For,

Not long after, this miserable wretch, (it seems, being taken notice of by the alteration of his countenance and other changes in the disposition of his mind, whether he was there in presence, or had only heard with what solemnity so terrible a sentence was pronounced against him, to be the man) forsaking the university, his body carried his mind when it found no sanctuary (as he supposed) with the superintendant of Ely ; a man too much taken notice of to be too great a favourer of Luther's Doctrine (Dr. Goodrich by name) where no less the dismal manner of proceeding, than the thing itself, would never out of his mind ; where notwithstanding, he became a domestick servant to the said Dr. Goodrich, and had unfolded his mind to them concerning the premises ;

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yet

yet they never could persuade him otherwise but that he had most grievously offended almighty God in that particular; openly detesting the deed, as a thing that was both unadvisedly, and wickedly performed; insomuch that his mind could never be at rest, until such time as, with his own hands, in the self-same place where the former sentence was written, he had blotted out his sin; and that together by fixing upon the place this other sentence, which carried healing in every word, *delicta juventutis mee & ignorantias ne memineris, Domine*: “Remember not, Lord, my sins, nor the ignorances of my youth;” subscribing thereunto his name, Peter de Valence, who was a Norman by birth, from whence he came to Cambridge to be a student, and remained there till he had committed this fact: whereupon he was absolved, and became a priest.

There is a great deal of difference in the consideration which catholicks use when they pronounce this terrible sentence over that which the lay-chancellors had with us when they excommunicated for every three-penny matter; which was the reason that, in the end, the people made not a three-penny matter of their excommunications.

Thus

Thus, employing his time, so needfully required, in healing the sore breast of such a nurse, it happened, that in the year 1518, Thomas Wilkinson, doctor in divinity (who was the second master of Queen's College) departed this life, whereby the mastership of that college became vacant; and, in regard that the chancellor of the university had no house belonging to him as he was chancellor, the fellows of that college, with unanimous consent, chose him to be their master, which he thankfully accepted of; whereby he became the third master of that house, continuing there the space of three years and odd months.



## C H A P. III.

1. *The recreation of bishop Fisher. The erection of colleges.* 2. *The Lady Margaret dies, and leaves him her executor.* 3. *The high encomium which he bestows upon her in his funeral-sermon, made at the solemnities of her interment.* 4. *His faithful behaviour in so great a trust reposed him.* 5. *His great love unto that college.* 6. *The praise worthiness of the university of Cambridge.*

**T**HAT this good man sojourned in those parts, during the time he made it his recreation to overlook the work of Christ's college, which was then not finished, which the lady Margaret had endowed with maintenance for one master, twelve scholars, fellows, and forty-seven disciples for ever; to be brought up (as the words of her Will make mention) in learning, virtue, and cunning: the which college she only lived to see finished, and so took sanctuary in the holy of holies, the celestial Jerusalem; after the dissolution of so fair a temple of the Holy Ghost (as was the body of so incomparable a soul) in  
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the year of our Lord God 1519, the third of the calends of July, within the abbey of St. Peter's in Westminster, to the great grief and sorrow of all good people, but to her own eternal happiness: who, before her departure, made her last Will and Testament, wherein (together with other personages of great quality) she made this holy bishop (as one in whom she reposed her chiefest trust) one of her executors.

She was buried with all solemnity, according to the dignity of so great a person, in the abbey-church at Westminster: at whose funeral-sermon, this most excellent bishop threw these flowers upon her grave, &c. As, concerning her birth, that she was the daughter of John duke of Somerset, lineally descended from the most noble prince Edward the III. king of England: as for quality, that she was a second Martha, both for her hospitality and nobility; where (together with many other of her great virtues, and incomparable deeds of charity; all which he there related at large, as so many proofs of sanctity) he had these remarkable passages concerning her, viz. that, notwithstanding she was a princess who, by lineage and affinity, had had thirty kings and queens (besides

dukes, marquesses, and earls) within the fourth degree of marriage supporting her greatness; yet would she often fall so low, as to search and dress the wounds and sores of poor and distressed people with her own fingers; performing all this for his sake, who for ours received so many wounds: as also, when there was an overture made by divers princes to war against the common enemy of our faith, she encouraged them thereunto, by often telling them that, upon condition that they would go, she would also go along with them, and be their laundress.

The funerals of this great lady being ended, and that other college which she had willed to be dedicated to St. John the Evangelist being not yet built, the rest of her executors, finding how faithful the good man had been in his former trust, by a general consent resigned into his hands (by a publick instrument in writing) the whole authority of the disposition of her legacies: but behold how worthily the dispensation was conferred upon him! for whereas the lady Margaret, out of her great bounty and liberality, had given to so pious a use a portion of land, for the maintenance of one master, and fifty scholars, with all manner of furniture, and servants requisite



sute to every office, in manner and form; this good man did not only bear a portion in the charge of the same building, but much augmented the revenue thereof with possession of land; whereby four fellowships were founded upon his own account and one reader of an Hebrew lecture, and another of Greek, together, with four examining-readers and four under-readers, to help the principal; and whereas he observed the price of victuals began to rise, he gave wherewith (by weekly dividend) the fellows commons might be augmented, bequeathing thereunto his library of books (thought to be the best that ever was in Europe) after his death; together with all his plate, hangings, and other household-stuff whatsoever to him belonging, by a deed of gift in his life time, under his own hand, and putting the college into possession of the same by indentures, only borrowing the same back again to his own use, during his life.

And, for a perpetual memory of his hearty good-will and love towards this college, he caused a little chapel to be built near unto the high altar of the great chapel, where there was a tomb set of white marble finely wrought; where he intended to have laid his bones, if God had not dis-

posed of him otherwise: but he was otherwise disposed of, and (as if) because this martyr's body was not permitted to be brought among these men, these fellows brought their bodies to his martyrdom; for those famous martyrs, Mr. Greenwood; Richard Reynolds, doctor in divinity, a professed monk in Sion, of the rule of St. Bridget; and Mr. William Exmew, a Carthusian professed in London: the first whereof came out of St. John's college; the other two came forth of Christ's: all three suffering death under king Henry the VIII. in the cause of supremacy, that they might still be of his foundation; though not of stone and mortar, yet of blood and fire.

Out of the first of these two colleges proceeded likewise Ralph Bayne, bishop of Litchfield; Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln; John Christoferson, also bishop of Chichester; Thomas Bishop, elect of Gloucester; and before that, abbot of Leicester; all catholick bishops.

Out of the second also sprang that most reverend and grave doctor, Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York; together with divers other grave and learned preachers of the catholick faith. And this is to be noted, to the honour of that university, that, during the space  
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of so many hundred years as is between the laying of the first stone in this our Bethel, Cambridge was never infected with any unsound doctrine, until such time as *regis ad exemplum* brought it in, and Luther's soul was transmigrated into Henry the VIII. who, ever after, never spake at a lesser rate than *sic volo, sic jubeo*; who both of them, since their fall from the catholick church, pulled down reason, and set up will. And,

It is a thing which is most remarkable, that he who gored this university so much (as it is conceived, the more for this man's sake of whom we treat, and the great love's-sake which they all bore unto his memory by his placing, and displacing what men and laws he pleased, and all to make way for a new religion) in the end reconciled himself unto the catholick faith; as appears, by his subscribing to the Six Articles of the Roman catholick religion, which was all the difference that was then between the two churches, in matter of doctrine, as also by the expresse words of his last will and testament.

So the first unclean beast that ever passed through the Oxens-ford (I mean Wickliffe by name) afterwards chewed



the cud, and was sufficiently reconciled to the roman faith, as appears by his recantation; living and dying conformable to the holy catholick church, at his parsonage of Lutterworth in Leicestershire: constantly saying mass unto his dying-day. So that reformation, as it seems, was left unto the time of which it is said, *Vae regno cui puer dominatur!* "Woe be to the kingdom over which a child reigns!"

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#### C H A P. IV.

1. *The increase of Luther's doctrine.* 2. *Fisher's vigilancy to suppress it.* 3. *His intention to go to Rome.* 4. *The occasion of his stay.* 5. *His brave and worthy speech in the synod of bishops.*

**N**OW was the time come, wherein God was determined to make trial of his people; and the storm was not altogether unseen to ensue by this good man; for by this time the people of this nation had well drank of the intoxication of prince Luther's cup: but, when he perceived the better sort of people

people to be so like the nature of islanders) changeable and desirous of novelties; and how Luther's doctrine was now come from private whisperings to open proclamations (whereby all authority, either of pope or emperor, king or bishop, or any superiority whatsoever, was much vilified and debased; a new way of salvation found out; a nearer, readier, and cheaper way to heaven propounded; and liberty of conscience promised to all that were believers in his gospel, all thinking him a brave fellow; and who but Luther, that cared neither for pope nor emperor! (this holy prelate began to look about, and bestir himself; and questionless had out-rid the storm, had not his hand been taken from the steerage, and the head-pilot (when the poor Fisher's head was off) wilfully cast away the ship. For,

Hereupon this good bishop first acts the part of a good chancellor, and set all right in that university in general, especially in those colleges whereof he had peculiar jurisdiction; where he took an occasion to provide in the statutes, that the fellows of those houses should so order their studies, as that the fourth part of them might be preachers: so that, as soon as one was gone abroad, another

another should be ready to succeed in his place; that, if it were possible, the young cub might be caught at his first arrival.

Then he returned to his pastoral charge at Rochester; and there, setting his own diocese in good order, he fell to writing, and diligent preaching, procuring others, whose abilities were best known unto him, to do the like: but, perceiving the disease to grow desperate, as it had done in Saxony, and other parts of Germany; and the rest of the physicians not so ready to set thereto their helping hands as the necessity of the cause required; he not only called for help from the king, but, by his persuasions, and at his instance, the king himself set upon the head of all those mischiefs, and wrote a book against Luther, entitled, *An assertion of the seven sacraments, against Martin Luther*: so learned and so worthy a piece, as that thereby he worthily deserved the title of *Defender of the faith*; which upon that occasion was given unto him by Leo the X, then pope of Rome. This book was supposed by divers to be written by my lord of Rochester; whereupon he obtained leave from the king, that he might go to Rome, (as it is conceived to take further



further order concerning the settlement of those affairs;) and, having obtained leave likewise of his metropolitan, and disposed his household, and ready to set forward in that expedition, all was dashed, by reason of a synod of bishops (together with a synod of the whole clergy) which was then called by cardinal Wolsey, by reason of his power legantine, lately conferred on him by the pope; which stop to his design he bore with less reluctancy, because he hoped that much good to the church might happily be wrought thereby; but, in the end, perceiving the synod rather to be made a concourse, whereby to notify unto the world the great authority wherein the cardinal was invested, and that he might be seen sitting in his pontificality, than for any great good that was intended, he spake as followeth:

*Bishop Fisher's speech in the synod.*

“ MAY it not seem displeasing to  
 “ your eminence, and the rest of  
 “ these grave and reverend fathers of  
 “ the church, that I speak a few words,  
 “ which I hope may not be out of  
 “ season. I had thought that, when  
 “ so many learned men, as substitutes  
 “ for

“ for the clergy, had been drawn into  
“ this Body, some good matters should  
“ have been propounded for the be-  
“ nefit and good of the church : that  
“ the scandals that lie so heavy upon  
“ her men, and the disease which takes  
“ such hold on those advantages, might  
“ have been hereby at once removed,  
“ and also remedied. Who hath made  
“ any the least proposition against the  
“ ambition of those men, whose pride  
“ is so offensive, whilst their profession  
“ is humility ? or against the inconti-  
“ nency of such as have vowed chas-  
“ tity ? How are the goods of the church  
“ wasted ? the lands, the tithes, and  
“ other oblations of the devout ances-  
“ tors of the people (to the great scan-  
“ dal of their posterity) wasted in su-  
“ perfluous, riotous expences ? How  
“ can we exhort our flocks to fly the  
“ pamps and vanities of this wicked  
“ world, when we that are bishops set  
“ our minds on nothing more than that  
“ which we forbid ? If we should teach  
“ according to our doing, how absurdly  
“ would our doctrines sound in the  
“ ears of those that should hear us ?  
“ and if we teach one thing, and do  
“ another, who believeth our report ?  
“ which would seem to them no other-  
“ wise

“ wise than as if we should throw down  
“ with one hand, what we built with  
“ the other. We preach humility, so-  
“ briety, contempt of the world, &c.  
“ and the people perceive in the same  
“ men that preach this doctrine, pride,  
“ and haughtiness of mind, excess in  
“ apparel, and a resignation of our-  
“ selves to all wordly pomps and va-  
“ nities : and what is this otherwise  
“ than to set the people at a stand,  
“ whether they shall follow the sight  
“ of their own eyes, or the belief of  
“ what they hear? Excuse me, reverend  
“ fathers ; seeing herein I blame no man  
“ more than I do myself : for sundry  
“ times, when I have settled myself to  
“ the care of my flock, to visit my  
“ diocese, to govern my church, to  
“ answer the enemies of Christ ; sud-  
“ denly there hath come a message to  
“ me from the court, that I must at-  
“ tend such a triumph, receive such an  
“ ambassador. What have we to do  
“ with princes courts? If we are in  
“ love with majesty, is there a greater  
“ excellence than whom we serve? If  
“ we are in love with stately buildings,  
“ are there higher roofs than our ca-  
“ thedrams? If with apparel, is there a  
“ greater ornament than that of Priest-  
“ hood?



“ hood? or is there better company than  
“ a communion with the saints? truly,  
“ most reverend fathers, what this va-  
“ nity in temporal things may work  
“ in you, I know not; but sure I am,  
“ that, in myself, I find it to be a  
“ great impediment to devotion; where-  
“ fore I think it necessary (and high  
“ time it is) that we, that are the heads,  
“ should begin to give example to the  
“ inferior clergy as to these particulars,  
“ whereby we may all be the better  
“ conformable to the image of God;  
“ for in this trade of life, which we  
“ now lead, neither can there be like-  
“ lihood of perpetuity in the same state  
“ and condition wherein we now stand,  
“ or safety to the clergy.”

After that he had uttered these and many other such like words to this effect, with such a gravity as well became him, they all seemed to be astonished, by their silence: and the cardinal's state to become him not so well.

## C H A P. V.

1. *Luther's railing against the king.* 2. *Fisher writeth in the king's behalf.* 3. *The effect of a sermon which he preached at St. Paul's cross.* 4. *Oecolampadius his doctrine and beginning : Fisher opposeth him.* 5. *The king leaveth off all care of kingly government ; gives himself wholly to sensuality.* 6. *Lays his whole trust in the cardinal. Wolsey's character.* 7. *His solicitation for the bishoprick of Toledo ; afterwards for the papacy : is refused both.*

**A**BOUT this time it was that Luther answered the king's book, wherein he used such scurrilous railing against the king as is not to be mentioned far beneath the approvement of a sanctified spirit, and the dignity of a sacred person. Whereupon

This bishop (in vindication of the king's honour, and the defence of the truth) writ an apology, whereby he rebuked the author's villany, and abuse of a prince of so great dignity: the title of which book was, *A defence of the king of England's assertion of the catholick faith, against Martin Luther's Book*  
of

*of the captivity of Babylon*; which book he dedicated to his dear friend, and old acquaintance, doctor West, bishop of Ely.

Shortly afterwards, he wrote another book, entitled, *A defence of the holy order of priesthood, against Martin Luther.*

Upon the Quinquagesima - sunday, which was in the year of our redemption 1525, this holy and most learned bishop preached a most excellent sermon at St. Paul's Cross; where cardinal Wolsey, *Legate à latere*, with eleven bishops, and a great resort of the nobility and gentry, were present, which was performed with such fervency of faith, zeal to the catholick church, and force of arguments grounded upon Scripture, that one Robert Barnes, an augustin friar, and five more (infected with Lutheranism) were thereby converted, and abjured their errors; and for their penance stood openly at St. Paul's Cross.

Upon the octaves of the ascension, he preached also another most admirable sermon, in the presence of the cardinal and all the bishops, &c. wherein he shewed himself a most stout and zealous champion, and defender of his faith; taxing no less the several curers of souls with



with negligence, than the people with levity.

About this time, arose out of Luther's school, one Oecolampadius, like a mighty and fierce giant; who, as his master had gone beyond the church, went beyond his master, (or else it had been impossible he could have been reputed the better scholar) who denied the Real Presence; him this worthy champion sets upon, and with five books (like so many smooth stones taken out of the river that doth always run with living water) slays the Philistine; which five books were written in the year of our Lord 1526, at which time he had governed the see of Rochester twenty two years. Neither these books, nor any other that he wrote, were ever answer'd.

About this time it was, that the king left off the kingly occupation (as they called it) wherein he had governed this realm with great wisdom and moderation, whereby he became (as all wise kings do aim at) beloved at home, and feared abroad; and addicted himself wholly to sensual pleasure and delight; leaving the ministry of his state wholly to the disposition of the cardinal, who was a man (though but meanly and obscurely

scurely born, yet) of an excellent wit, voluble speech, quickness of memory, haughtiness of courage, well bred, sufficiently learned, and one that knew how to behave himself, among persons of the greatest rank and quality, and that in businesses of greatest weight and importance; who, besides that he was archbishop of York, and bishop of Winchester at the same time, and abbot of St. Albans, and had the bishopricks of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford in farm, (at small rents, the incumbents being strangers, and continually living in their own countries, whereby he might dispose of all presentations and promotions of those bishopricks as freely as if they had been his own) and was *Legate à latere*, whereby he might convocate the clergy at his pleasure; besides what he received from Italy, by reason of his dignity of cardinal, he was also lord chancellor of England; whereby, in a manner, he formally ruled all under the king also in matters temporal; and, to give him his due, he so behaved himself in government, that he won from all wise men great praise for his indifferency to all sorts of people, whether they were rich or poor; only his fault was, that he governed himself the worst of all:

all: for all this was not sufficient, except he was more; and more was nothing, except he was most of all. For,

The archbishoprick of Toledo in Spain being void, he made his application unto the emperor Charles the V, and to that purpose procured the king's letters, whereby that great dignity might be conferred upon him; but the emperor, noting his ambition, would in no wise condescend thereto.

That failing, it happened that pope Leo the X. died, whereby the papacy became void; then he bestirred himself exceedingly, together with all his friends; and (besides his own master, the king of England) he applied unto the king of France, who (upon certain grounds moving him thereto) took great pains in his behalf: but all was disappointed by the emperor, who had so wrought with the conclave of cardinals, that they elected cardinal Hadrian (one who formerly had been tutor to the emperor) for their pope; a man of singular and rare virtue and learning.



## C H A P. VI.

1. The revenge which the cardinal took against the emperor for withstanding his ambition.
2. The scruple which he put into the king's head concerning queen Katherine: this scruple, the ruin of the clergy.
3. The king is fallen in love with Anne Bullen.
4. Her character.
5. The king resolved to go through with the Divorce.
6. The king's dealing with Fisher in that behalf. Fisher's answer to the king.

**T**HIS lay boiling in the cardinal's stomach so hot, that he never rested till he had set variance between the king his master, and the emperor; which he performed, by causing the king to enter into a strict league and amity with the king of France, whereby the emperor's occasions were much hinder'd; and, to affront him the more (together with the fear of a blind prophecy which was told him, viz. "that a woman should be the confusion of him," and fearing it might be the queen (Katharine), in regard she was aunt unto the emperor, whom he thus purposed to malign, he began to set the

the straw on fire that was under her bed, by putting a new scruple into the king's head of marrying his brother's wife. Wherefore, taking his opportunity, when he saw the king best disposed, he fell into discourse with him of the great unhappiness that was befall the nation, and how great a pity it was he had not issue-male to succeed him in the crown of England: whereat the king began to stare upon him, but answered him not a word; while the cardinal proceeds to tell him that there might be a way found out how, with God's blessing, he might have plenty: whereat the king began to trust his thumbs under his girdle, and to cry, "hoh, man, hoh! lawfully begotten, " cardinal? lawfully begotten?" Yes, lawfully begotten, replied the cardinal: I speak no more than what I am able to make good, and justly: Whereupon he began to tell him in plain terms, that the marriage between him and his wife (in regard she had been his Brother's) was not lawful; and that it was a thing which was much spoken of, as well in foreign nations; as in his own realm and that therefore he was bound in conscience to tell him of it, to the intent he might consider of it, and inquire further.

The

The king looking a long time very earnestly upon the cardinal, as if he had been greatly dismayed, at last answered him in these mild terms:

Why, my lord, you know this marriage was sufficiently discussed at the beginning by sundry grave and learned men, and was at last by them concluded to be good and lawful, which was afterwards confirmed and dispensed with by the pope himself; and therefore, good father, take heed what you say in this great and weighty matter. Whereupon they thus parted for that time, from one another.

Having once broke the ice, he thus intends to pass through the ford. He sends for one doctor John Longland bishop of Lincoln, confessor to the king; a very timorous man, and one that was afraid to say or do any thing that might displease the cardinal, and therefore was there placed as a man wholly for his purpose. Him the cardinal conjures, that, when the king should deal with him concerning a scruple of conscience about the marriage of his wife queen Katharine, by any means he should further the same as much as in him lay, and make it a great matter of conscience to co-habit with her, being not his lawful wife.



wife. Longland, as he supposed, having his lesson given him, within two or three days, the cardinal addresseth himself to the king; and, after that he had discoursed a-while with him concerning the invalidity of the marriage, he adviseth him, by all means to resolve on nothing rashly, but to advise with his ghostly father; which when he had done, his ghostly father was not altogether the man which the cardinal took him to be; for, when the king advised with him concerning the business, he put it off from himself, and advised his majesty to consult with some others, that were the most learned bishops: whereupon the cardinal had a game to play for that which he thought to have got by flight of hand; for now the king was pleased to send for the most able bishops and divines that he could think upon; amongst all which there was not any one in all his kingdom of whom he had a more reverend estimation, both for honesty and learning, than he had of doctor Fisher, bishop of Rochester; wherefore he was one of the nominate within the list of summons to a meeting at the cardinal's house in Westminster; where, after much debatement of the business, and that the bishop of Rochester had fully

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answered

answered and refuted all the arguments and reasons which were there made and given concerning the validity of the marriage (to the satisfaction of most of the bishops) he concluded, "that there  
" was no cause at all of any question  
" to be made, seeing the marriage be-  
" tween the king and the queen was  
" good and lawful from the beginning;  
" and that, therefore, it was necessary  
" to remove that scruple from the king's  
" breast as soon as possible": and so the conference ended.

While the clergy were all thus dancing about a scruple in a lofty room, led by the cardinal, they were not aware of the loose fire which was brought into the powder-room, which was under them ready, and at last blew them all up; for, just in this nick of time, the king was deeply fallen in love with a fair young gentlewoman of the court then waiting upon the queen, called Mrs. Anne Bullen (secretly a Lutheran, and the first that ever opened her mouth to advise the king to an alteration in religion) daughter to sir Thomas Bullen, knight, who afterward, for his daughter's sake, was promoted to many high honours and dignities. This Mrs. Anne had formerly been brought up in the court  
of

of France, under the lady Mary, the French queen sister to king Henry, and sometime wife of Lewis XII. king of France, where she had learnt much courtly fashion and behaviour, then strange and dainty in the English court, whereby she far surpassed all other ladies, her companions; which so enflamed the king's mind (having conceived within himself a possibility of riddance from his old wife, and probability of having issue-male by this) that inwardly he was resolved to have her *volens volens*; whereupon, for the present, he shewed her great favour, and expressed unto her many signs of the love which she was yet ignorant of; so that now he was resolved upon a hand-gallop in this business.

Insomuch that when the cardinal (in-sciuous of his design) made his address unto him to give him account of the conference which was between the bishops, and had told the king how that all did, and was likely to stick in the lord of Rochester, as the only remora to that proceeding (supposing that, if the king could take him off, all the rest would follow his Judgment); the king by this time desiring nothing more than that the divorce should take effect, speedily



dily fell into consultation with the cardinal, how the bishop might be won to his (now) design: the cardinal advised his majesty to send for the bishop, and to work him to him by fair means and gentle usage. Whereupon the king did as he was advised; for the bishop being sent for, and come into the king's presence, the king treated him with exceeding courtesy and liberality of good language, and at last took him with him into the long gallery; and there walking a-while with him, after that he had bestowed many words of praise and commendation upon him for his great learning and virtue, at length (in the presence of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and some bishops that were there) he unfolded his mind unto him concerning the business that was in hand, telling him how sore his conscience was tormented, and how for that cause he had secretly consulted with his ghostly father and divers other men, by whom he was not yet satisfied; and therefore, he said, upon special confidence which he had in his great learning, he had now made choice of him to use his advice above all others, requiring him to declare his opinion therein freely, whereby he might be sufficiently

ly instructed in his conscience, and remain no longer in suspence.

The bishop, hearing all this, fell suddenly upon his knees, and in that posture would have delivered his mind unto him; but the king immediately lifted him up with his own hands, and blamed him for so doing; whereupon he spake as followeth:

“ I beseech your grace to be of good  
 “ chear, and not to disquiet yourself one  
 “ whit concerning this matter, nor to be  
 “ dismayed or troubled at this business;  
 “ for there is no heed to be taken of  
 “ these men, who account themselves so  
 “ wise, and do arrogate to themselves  
 “ more knowledge and learning in divi-  
 “ nity, than had all the learned fathers of  
 “ the church, and the divines of Spain  
 “ and England (together with the see a-  
 “ postolick) that were in your father’s  
 “ time; by whose authority this mar-  
 “ riage was approved, confirmed, and  
 “ dispensed with, as good and lawful:  
 “ truly, sir, my sovereign lord, you ra-  
 “ ther ought to make it a matter of con-  
 “ science, than to make any such scruple,  
 “ in so clear and weighty a matter, by  
 “ bringing it in question; than to have  
 “ any the least scruple in your conscience:  
 “ and therefore my advice is, that your  
 D 3 majesty,

" majesty, with all speed, lay aside those  
 " thoughts; and, for any peril that may  
 " happen to your soul thereby, let the  
 " guilt rest on mine. And this is all that  
 " can be said by the loyalest of subjects;  
 " and whether I have said well herein,  
 " or otherwise, I shall not refuse to answer  
 " any man in your behalf, whether it be  
 " privately or publickly; and I doubt  
 " not but there are as many worthy and  
 " learned men within your kingdom,  
 " which are of my opinion, as on the con-  
 " trary (if they might be permitted to  
 " speak with freedom) who hold it a very  
 " perilous and unseemly thing, that any  
 " such thing as a divorce should be spoken  
 " of; to which side I rather advise your  
 " majesty to incline than to the other."

Whereat the king replied not one word;  
 for while there was so fair a beauty in his  
 eye, his ears must needs be stopped with  
 the blackest wool. So he departed sud-  
 denly, and never looked favourably up-  
 on the bishop from that time forward.

# C H A P.



## C H A P. VII.

1. *The cardinal brought into a peck of troubles, by reason of this scruple.*
2. *The king declares himself for Anne Bullen, and declines the queen's company.*
3. *The cardinal's secret comploting to break off the match with Anne Bullen.*

THE king resolving to go through-  
stich with his work, makes it a  
publick business; and now the cardinal's  
*hic labor* was become *hoc opus*: for the  
same thing which was hitherto but se-  
cretly handled among the bishops, was  
now made the common subject of dis-  
course to the whole kingdom; and a  
convention hereupon was had not only  
of the bishops, but of all the noted and  
famous divines of both the universities,  
cathedrals and religious houses within  
the realm, at the cardinal's house at  
Westminster, where the said business  
was debated, argued and consulted many  
days together: but the subject was too  
knotty for such tools to work upon, and  
the knot too hard for their untying;  
wherefore they dissolved of themselves  
without dissolution. And now the car-  
dinal's

dinal's *hoc opus* began to be impossible, and *voluntas regis* to fly so high, as it to that nothing were impossible; for now the king begins to puff and blow, and to swear "Mother of God! he " will have her," declaring it openly to all the world; whereupon, from more and more, he becomes altogether to decline his Catharine's company, and to delight himself wholly in the courtship of his new mistress.

In the mean time the cardinal (Wolsey) walks the round within his own chamber, and with his bitten nails tears out these words by piece-meals from his mouth, "We will have none of this " Anne Bullen;" for we must conceive him wonderfully perplexed having otherwise designed an alliance for his master with the French king, by this divorce, if he could have had his will; so to have revenged himself upon the emperor: and we cannot imagine the distressed queen to be otherwise than implacably, as well as necessitously bent to employ all her engines, to work together with his ruin, her own preservation. O the just and sacred workings of the Almighty, who often buries us in the same pits which we dig for others! Yet most wonderful it is, to consider  
what

what countermines he had laid, if it had been possible to have blown up the king's resolution in his new choice, able to have levelled any fortification of a mind that had been but composed either of honour, wisdom, honesty, or shame, and not of what was altogether wilfulness. For first, hearing a common fame of the incontineny of his Anne Bullen, he sends forth spies in every corner, to learn out who had, or who could hear of any that had, been familiar with her. At last intelligence was brought him, that, for certain, sir Thomas Wiat had carnal knowledge of her, whereupon, providing himself with sufficient instruction, he sends for sir Thomas Wiat, and tells him how thus and thus it appears, that he had been oftentimes familiar with the lady Anne Bullen; and that for certain the king was at this time resolved to marry her, as soon as ever the sentence of divorce should be pronounced; and therefore, out of the great love which he ever bare unto him, and care which he had of his welfare, he thought good to acquaint him with what danger he was in, whereby he might avoid it by acquainting the king with what was truth; lest afterwards such a thing should come to the king's ear,



and then it would not be all the land, nor all the life he had in England, that could give his majesty satisfaction for concealment of a business of so high concernment.

The knight replied, sir, I thank you for the great love and sound advice which hath been always exercised in my affairs: But, reverend sir, if the king be so in love with her, as you say he is, and the world takes notice of him to be, I think I cannot be in greater danger than in acquainting the king with such a business.

If you cannot prove it, said the cardinal, you say well. It is a hard matter to prove that, said the knight. It is a harder matter to answer the concealment, said the cardinal, of a thing that is so much divulged as this is; and, besides, in this case, you can hardly suffer, but you must find many friends; in the other you will suffer pitiless, and will find no man to speak in your behalf; in this, you will be but ingenuous; in the other, peccant; wherefore I advise you, of two evils, to choose the least.

Sir Thomas Wiat, by these persuasions, was resolved to confess all unto the king, which he plainly did; and with

with great fear, told him that she was no fit wife for him, if he were free. The king commanded him to speak no more upon his life, nor to acquaint any else with what he had told him: so blind is fate!

Nor would the cardinal attempt to batter so strong a tower with one piece, but he procured a reserve of engines, which he thought could not fail; for he had notice given him how that, for certain, the said Anne Bullen was really contracted to the lord Henry Percy, son and heir to the earl of Northumberland, then a servant waiting upon the cardinal, whom he immediately caused to appear before him; and by his own confession, finding the report to be true, and solemnly performed, he sent for the countess of Wiltshire, mother to the said Anne Bullen; and hearing what she could say to the business, which was no less than what the said Percy had said before, he encouraged her in the prosecution; who, for some reasons, best known unto herself, as she said to the cardinal, better liked of the marriage of her daughter with the said lord Percy, than if the king should marry her.

The cardinal, finding a backwardness in this lady, that her daughter should  
be

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be wedded to the king, and hearing what fame had formerly spread abroad concerning the king's former familiarity with her, guessed at the cause, and therefore advised her to go unto the king, and deal freely with him in that particular, lest hereafter she might otherwise repent.

The lady takes his advice, and addresses herself to the king; and communing with him a-while upon that subject, between jest and earnest, she uttered these words; "sir, for the reverence of God, take heed what you do in marrying my daughter; for, if you record your conscience well, she is your own daughter as well as mine:" The king replied, "whose daughter soever she is, she shall be my wife."

But when she proceeded to acquaint him with the contract, and told him how that her daughter, and the lord Percy were already man and wife before God, solemnly contracted in the presence of such and such; the king was exceeding angry, and swore by his wonted oath, "that it was not so, and it should not be so," and sent immediately for the lady herself to come before him, to whom, as soon as ever she



she came into the presence, and before ever she had heard of the business, the king, with a frowning countenance, said, "Is it so, Nan? is it so?" "hoh! what say'st thou to it?" To what, said Anne Bullen? Mother of God, said the king, they say that thou hast promised to marry young Percy. Mrs. Anne nothing at all abashed, returns him this answer, "Sir, when I knew no otherwise but that it was lawful for me to make such promises, I must confess I made him some such promise; but no good subject makes any promise but with this proviso, that, if his sovereign commands otherwise, it shall be lawful for him to obey." Well said, my own girl, said the king; and, turning himself to the countess, he said, I told you that there was no such thing.

Thus you see, concerning the first particular, the king cared not who he married, so that he might be wedded to his own will; and concerning the second, the king presently after sent for the cardinal, and commanded him to undo the former knot with his own teeth, enjoining him to procure his servant to release his mistress of her engagement; which he did.

## C H A P. VIII.

1. *The first occasion of the cardinal's ruin.*
2. *The king sends divers orators to the universities beyond the seas, to procure their assentments to the divorce.*
3. *They return with satisfaction; but it proves fruitless.*
4. *Ambassadors are sent to Rome.*
5. *The cardinal aspireth to be pope.*
6. *He useth strange means to accomplish the same.*

**N**OW it is, the queen's bed must be taken down, that her pallat may be advanced: but from this time forward, though the cardinal was seemingly forward, yet was he covertly slow in the prosecution of the divorce, which afterwards proved to be his ruin.

Wherefore the king was advised by the cardinals and the rest of the bishops, as the only way of dispatch, to send certain orators to foreign universities, as well as to those at home; and so, without any more ado, to rest in their judgments.

The king, having made choice of men fit for his purpose, gave them instructions, and sent them several ways to the most renowned universities of christendom, there to dispute the case,  
viz.

viz. whether it was lawful for a man to marry his brother's wife, or not; without acquainting them with the particulars, either of the former brother's having no carnal knowledge of the said wife, or the pope's dispensation thereupon; so that by this sleight and subtilty, they easily obtained determinations from all the universities, viz. that it was not lawful; whereupon, not knowing whose case it was, nor the case itself rightly, the orators procured those determinations under the common seals of all the foreign universities; whereupon they returned with great triumph, to the great contentment of the king, who rewarded them highly for their pains; and it must not be thought that our universities at home (though they only understood the case) should be wiser than all the universities of christendom.

All these seals were delivered into the cardinal's hand, with a strict charge speedily to convene all the bishops before him, and to determine upon the business: but this quick fire could not make this sweet malt; for it was determined (by whose means you may easily guess) that although the universities had thus determined under their seals, yet the  
woll  
business



business was too weighty for them to determine thereupon, as of themselves, without the authority of the see apostolick : but they all fell upon this agreement among themselves, that orators should be sent, with these seals of the universities, to Rome, to treat with the pope for procuring his confirmation therein. Thus the king was shoved off with another wave from the shore of his desired purpose.

With much reluctancy, and sensibility of the tediousness of the delay, no other remedy appearing, ambassadors were dispatched in all haste to Rome, Clement the VII. being pope at that time. The ambassadors names were Stephen Gardiner, the king's secretary ; sir Francis Brian, knight, one of the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber ; sir Gregory de Cassali, an Italian ; and Mr. Peter Vannes, a Venetian ; who being arrived at Rome, having propounded the cause of their coming, and rested themselves there awhile, letters were come unto them from the king and the cardinal, with further instructions how to deal with the pope, and to make all possible dispatch that could be made in the business. But the ambassadors were not half so hasty in demanding, as the pope was  
slow

slow in expedition; and that by reason of the gout, which then afflicted him (and perhaps of an unwillingness of the mind, as well as a debility of the body). The ambassadors, by the return of their letters, having made known unto the king the pope's slowness, by reason of his great infirmity, the cardinal lays hold upon this occasion, and informs the king how that, if he were pope (if it should so happen that the pope should die) all should go well and speedily on his side. To this purpose letters were sent thick and three-fold to Rome, both from the king and cardinal, with instructions, that they would the more earnestly and often call upon the pope for a final determination, hoping that he would the more easily be drawn thereto that he might, by reason of his pain, be rid of their importunity; as also that, if the pope should chance to die of this present disease, by all means they should devise some way or other how the cardinal of York should be elected to succeed in his place; and to promise mountains of gold, to procure their suffrages in his behalf: and, in case they could not prevail, but that the cardinals were likely to choose some such man as was not likely to further  
the

the king's designs, that they should take up what sums of money they could upon the king's credit, and therefore to raise a presidy (as it is termed both in the king's and cardinal's letters) or power of men; and, taking with them such cardinals as could be brought to favour their purposes, to depart out of the city into some out-place not far off, and there to make a schism in the behalf of the cardinal. But there was no need of that advice; for the pope recovered health, and lived to finish the business, though contrary to the king's expectation.

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## C H A P. IX.

1. *Cardinal Campejus is sent legate into England to determine the business of divorce.*
2. *The ambassadors are returned.*
3. *Cardinal Wolsey joined in commission with the other cardinal.*
4. *The court sits.*
5. *Counsel is assigned to both the parties.*
6. *Queen Catharine's speech in her own defence.*

**T**HE ambassadors finding the pope to be the same man, for slowness, as he was when he was tied by the leg, requested



requested of his holiness that he would be pleased to send a legate into England, with full authority to hear and determine the business there, according to right, as he should see cause; which was granted, and accordingly one Laurence Campejus, a well-learned man, and of undaunted courage (to whom the king about ten years before had given the bishoprick of Bath, at his being in England upon another occasion) was appointed for that negotiation.

The ambassadors thus returning with a conclusion of a new beginning, the king's patience must now rest satisfied with the expectation of the legate's coming. After long expectation he arrived here in England, and coming to London was lodged in his own palace, then called Bath-house; but, before his arrival, a new commission from the pope overtook him at Calais, wherein the cardinal of York was joined with him in commission: and this was procured by the king, whereby, as he thought, his business should be sure to meet with the fewer rubs.

The cardinals met, audience was given, the commission was opened, the place assigned, the assignment was at the Dominick Friars in London; the king

king and queen were to be close-by at their lodgings at Bridewell; the learned counsel on both sides were appointed. The king (because he would seem indifferent) willed the queen to chuse none at all, as suspecting the indifferency of his own subjects. Wherefore, for fashion-sake, these counsellors were assigned her. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asaph; Thomas Abel, Richard Fetherston, Edward Powell, all doctors in divinity; and of civilians and canonists, William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; Cuthbert Tontal, bishop of London, Nicholas West, bishop of Ely, and John Clerk, bishop of Bath and Wells (for at Campejus his arrival, he was translated to the bishoprick of Salisbury.) On the king's part, the like number of profound and learned doctors, as well divines as civilians and canonists.

Silence being proclaimed in the court, and the commission read, the bishop of Rochester presented the two legates with a book which he had compiled in defence of the marriage; making therewith a grave and learned oration, wherein he desired them to take good heed to what they did in so weighty a business, putting them in mind of the great

and

and manifold dangers and inconveniences which were ready to ensue thereupon, not only to this realm, but to the whole state of christendom.

After this oration was ended, the king was called by name; who answered Here: after that, the queen; who made no answer, but rose immediately out of her chair; and coming about the court, she kneeled down before the king openly, in the sight of both the legates, and the whole court, and spake as followeth:

“ Sir, I beseech you do me justice  
 “ and right, and take some pity upon  
 “ me! for I am a simple woman, and  
 “ a stranger born out of your dominions,  
 “ and have no friend but you, who  
 “ now being become my adversary,  
 “ alas! what friendship or assurance of  
 “ indifferency in any counsel can I hope  
 “ to find amongst your subjects? What  
 “ have I done? Wherein have I of-  
 “ fended you? How have I given you  
 “ any occasion of displeasure? Why  
 “ will you put me from you in this  
 “ sort? I take God to be my judge, I  
 “ have been a true, humble, and faith-  
 “ ful wife unto you; always conform-  
 “ able to your will and pleasure: Where-  
 “ in did I ever contradict or gainsay  
 “ whatever you said? When was I dis-  
 “ conteted



" contented at the thing that pleased  
 " you? Whom did I love but those  
 " whom you loved, whether I had cause  
 " or not? I have been your wife these  
 " twenty years; you have had divers  
 " children by me: when you took me  
 " first into your Bed, I take God to be  
 " my witness, I was a virgin; and,  
 " whether that be true or not, I put it  
 " to your conscience. Now, if there  
 " be any just cause that you can alledge  
 " against me, either of dishonesty or  
 " the like, I am contented to depart the  
 " realm, and you, with shame and in-  
 " famy; but if there be no such cause,  
 " then I pray you let me have justice  
 " at your hands. The king your fa-  
 " ther was in his time of such an ex-  
 " cellent wit, as that for his wisdom-  
 " sake he was accounted a second Solo-  
 " mon; and Ferdinand my father was  
 " reckoned to be one of the wisest  
 " princes that reigned in Spain for many  
 " years before his days. These being  
 " both so wise princes, it is not to be  
 " doubted but they had gathered unto  
 " them as wise counsellors of both  
 " realms, as they in their wisdoms  
 " thought most meet; and, as I take  
 " it, there were, in those days, as wise  
 " and

“ and learned men in both kingdoms,  
 “ as there are now to be found in these  
 “ our times, who thought the marriage  
 “ between you and me to be good and  
 “ lawful : but for this I may thank  
 “ you, my lord cardinal of York” (then  
 her best friend, though she knew it not,  
 or perhaps was secretly advised to be  
 thus bitter against him) “ who have  
 “ sought to make this dissention between  
 “ my lord the king and me, because I  
 “ have so often found fault with your  
 “ pompous vanity and aspiring mind.  
 “ Yet I do not think that this your  
 “ malice proceeds from you merely in  
 “ respect of myself ; but your chief  
 “ displeasure is against my nephew the  
 “ emperor, because you could not at  
 “ his hands attain unto the bishoprick  
 “ of Toledo, which greedily you de-  
 “ sired ; and after that, was by his  
 “ means put by the chief and high bi-  
 “ shoprick of Rome, whereunto you  
 “ most ambitiously aspired ; whereat  
 “ being sore offended, and yet not able  
 “ to revenge your quarrel upon him,  
 “ the heavy burthen of your indigna-  
 “ tion must be laid upon a female  
 “ weakness, for no other reason but be-  
 “ cause she is his aunt. And these are  
 “ the manly ways you take to ease your  
 “ mind :

“ mind: but God forgive you! where-  
 “ fore, fir, (applying herself to the king)  
 “ it seems to me to be no justice that I  
 “ should stand to the order of this  
 “ Court, seeing one of my judges to  
 “ be so partial; and, if I should agree  
 “ to stand to the judgment of this court,  
 “ what counsellors have I but such as  
 “ are your own subjects, taken from  
 “ your own council, to which they are  
 “ privy, and perhaps dare not go a-  
 “ gainst it? wherefore I refuse to stand  
 “ to their advice or plea, or any judg-  
 “ ment that is here, and do appeal unto  
 “ the see apostolick, before our holy  
 “ father the pope; humbly beseeching  
 “ you, by the way of charity, to spare  
 “ me, till I may know what further  
 “ course my friends in Spain will ad-  
 “ vise me to: and, if this may not be  
 “ granted, then your pleasure be ful-  
 “ filled.”

With that, making a low obeysance  
 to the king, she departed the Court,  
 leaving behind her many sad hearts, and  
 weeping eyes; among the which this  
 good bishop of Rochester was most  
 compassionate.

After she was perceived to be quite  
 departed from the court (for it was sup-  
 posed that she meant to have returned



to her place) the king commanded that she should be called back again; but she would not in any wise return, saying to those that were about her, "This is  
 " no place for me to expect any in-  
 " difference; for they are all agreed  
 " what they will do, and the king is  
 " resolved what shall be done." So she departed clear away from the court, and never afterwards did she appear there any more.

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C H A P. X.

1. *The good character which the king gave his queen (Katharine.)* 2. *The king declares his scruple of conscience.* 3. *Shews the danger the kingdom is in for lack of issue male.* 4. *His proceedings with the bishops therein.*

THE king, perceiving that she was thus departed, spake unto the court as followeth:

" Forasmuch as the queen is now  
 " gone, I will declare, in her absence,  
 " before you all, that she hath ever  
 " been to me, as true, obedient, and  
 " comformable a wife, as I could wish,  
 " or any man desire to have, as having  
 E all

“ all the virtuous qualities that ought to  
“ be in a woman of her dignity: she  
“ is high born (as the quality of her  
“ conditions do declare); yet of so meek  
“ a spirit, as if her humility had not  
“ been acquainted with her birth; so  
“ that if I sought all Europe over, I  
“ should never find a better wife; and  
“ therefore how willingly I would, if it  
“ were lawful, continue her to be my  
“ wife, till death make the separation,  
“ ye may all guess; but Conscience,  
“ Conscience is such a thing:----who can  
“ endure the sting and prick of Con-  
“ science always stinging and pricking  
“ within his breast? Wherefore, my  
“ lords, this woman, this good wo-  
“ man I say, sometime being my bro-  
“ ther's wife, as ye all know, or have  
“ heard, hath bred such a scruple within  
“ the secrets of my breast, as daily doth  
“ torment, cumber, and disquiet my  
“ mind, fearing and mistrusting that I  
“ am in great danger of God's indig-  
“ nation; and the rather, because he  
“ hath sent me no issue-male, but such  
“ as died incontinently after they were  
“ born. Thus my Conscience being  
“ tossed to and fro upon these unquiet  
“ waves, (almost in despair of having  
“ any other issue by her) it becometh  
“ me

“ me, I think, to look a little farther,  
 “ and to consider now the welfare of  
 “ this realm, and the great danger  
 “ that it standeth in for lack of a prince  
 “ to succeed me in this Office; and  
 “ therefore I thought good, in respect  
 “ of the discharging of my conscience,  
 “ and for the quiet state of this noble  
 “ realm, to attempt the law herein,  
 “ that is, to know by your good and  
 “ learned counsel, whether I might law-  
 “ fully take another wife, by whom  
 “ God may send me issue-male, in case  
 “ this my first marriage should appear  
 “ not warrantable; and this is the only  
 “ cause for which I have sought thus  
 “ far unto you, and not for any dis-  
 “ pleasure or disliking of the queen’s  
 “ person or age, with whom I could  
 “ be as well contented to live, and con-  
 “ tinue (if our marriage may stand with  
 “ the laws of God) as with any wo-  
 “ man living: and in this point con-  
 “ sisteth all the doubt, wherein I would  
 “ be satisfied by the sound learning,  
 “ wisdom, and judgments of you, my  
 “ lords, the prelates and pastors of this  
 “ realm, now here assembled for that  
 “ purpose; and according to whose  
 “ determination herein, I am contented  
 “ to submit myself, with all obedience;



“ and that I meant not to wade in so  
“ weighty a matter (of my self) with-  
“ out the opinion and judgment of my  
“ lords spiritual, it may well appear in  
“ this, that, shortly after the coming  
“ of this scruple into my conscience, I  
“ moved it to you, my lord of Lin-  
“ coln, my ghostly father: and foras-  
“ much as you yourself, my lord were,  
“ then in some doubt, you advised me  
“ to ask the counsel of the rest of the  
“ bishops; whereupon I moved you,  
“ my lord of Canterbury, first, to  
“ have your license (inasmuch as you  
“ were the metropolitan) to put this  
“ matter in question, as I did to all the  
“ rest; the which you all have granted  
“ under your seals, which I have here  
“ to shew.” “ That is true, and if it  
“ please your grace (said the archbishop  
“ of Canterbury); and I doubt not but  
“ my brethren here will acknowledge the  
“ same”. Now you must understand that  
the king having won the archbishop  
wholly to his design, the archbishop  
had got as many of the bishops hands  
unto that deed as he could, and set the  
rest of the bishops hands thereto, of his  
own accord, they both imagining that  
none would have been so bold as to  
contradict, or charge so openly, both  
the

the king and the archbishop, of an untruth: but my lord of Rochester, being of an undaunted spirit, and one of the queen's counsel assigned (whereby he might deliver his mind the better) knowing the clearness of his own conscience, said unto the archbishop, "No, my lord; not so, under your favour; all the bishops were not so far agreed; for to that instrument you have neither my hand nor my seal": "No? hoh!" said the king, and with a frowning countenance said to my lord of Rochester, "Look here! is not this your hand and seal"? (shewing him the instrument) "No, forsooth, said the bishop, it is none of my hand, nor seal". "How say you to that (said the king to my lord of Canterbury)? "Sir," said he, it is his hand and his seal". "No, my lord, (said the bishop of Rochester): indeed you were in hand with me often for my hand and seal, as others of my lords have been; but I always told both you and them, I would in no wise consent to any such act; for it was much against my conscience to have any such business called in question, and therefore my hand and seal should never be put to any such instrument, God willing;

E 3

“willing; with a great deal more which  
“I said to that purpose, if you remember”.

“Indeed, said my lord of Canterbury, it is true, you had such words  
“with me; but, after our talk ended,  
“you were at last contented that I  
“should subscribe your name, and put  
“your seal thereto, and you would allow the same, as if it had been your  
“act and deed”. Then my lord of Rochester, seeing himself so unjustly charged, said unto the archbishop, “No,  
“no, my lord; by your favour and licence,  
“that had been all one; and that which  
“you charge me with, is not true”: and as he was proceeding in his speech, the king interrupted him, saying, “Well,  
“well, my lord of Rochester, it makes  
“no great matter; we will not stand  
“with you in argument: you are but  
“one man amongst the rest, if the worst  
“fall out”: but the rest of the bishops that had been dealt with in like manner, said not a word; so that the first encounter on the queen’s side was not so well performed, through want of seconds: and this was all that was done for that day.



## C H A P. XI.

1. *The pleadings of the counsel on both sides.*
2. *The disposition of the several witnesses.*
3. *The honest plea of bishop Fisher.*
4. *The stout plea of doctor Ridley.*
5. *Cardinal Wolsey takes him up.*
6. *The doctors reply thereto.*

**U**PON the second meeting there was much matter propounded by the counsel of the king's part, concerning the invalidity of the 'foresaid marriage from the beginning; by reason of the carnal copulation there vehemently urged to have been committed between prince Arthur the king's brother, and the present queen; but being again as vehemently denied by the queen's counsel, the whole matter rested only upon proof. To this purpose divers witnesses were produced. As,

1. Agnes the old dutchess of Norfolk, who deposed, that she was present at the marriage of prince Arthur, at St. Paul's in London, and that she saw them both in bed together the next night after they were married; the prince being of the age of fifteen years, and the princess elder.

E 4

2. George

2. George earl of Shrewsbury, who deposed, as to the celebration of the Marriage *decimo septimo Henrici VII.* 1501. that he was born at Winchester, *secundo Hen. VII.* that he believed prince Arthur knew the queen carnally, and was able so to do, because he knew his wife before he was sixteen.

3. William Warham archbishop of Canterbury, that he never liked the marriage, and that he told Hen. VII. as much.

4. Sir William Thomas knight, who deposed as to the age of the parties, and their co-habitation as man and wife five months together, both at London and in Ludlow.

5. Sir Anthony Poyntz, as to the age only.

6. Thomas marquis of Dorset, as to age; and that he was of a good sanguine complexion, and able, as he supposed for the business.

7. Robert Viscount Fitzwalter, as to the age; and that the next day, after they had been a-bed together, he waited on prince Arthur, whilst he was at breakfast, where Maurice St. John carved, and the lord Fitzwalter was cup-bearer; and that he heard prince Arthur (upon the said Maurice's asking the prince how

how he had done the last night) answer, "I have been in Spain the last night."

8. Thomas lord d'Arcy, William lord Montjoy and Henry Guilford, knights of the garter, little to any purpose but what they had heard by publick fame.

9. Charles duke of Suffolk deposed to the same effect with Maurice St. John; and that the prince soon after began to decay in bodily health; "which (said he, as the said St. John related) "grew "by the prince's lying with the lady "Katharine."

10. David Owen, as to the age only.

11. Thomas duke of Norfolk, lord treasurer of England, to the same effect with Maurice St. John; by which words he believed that the prince carnally knew the lady; and because he was of a good complexion, and age (as he supposed) sufficient, having performed the like himself at the same age.

12. Anthony Willoughby knight, that the morrow after the marriage (in the presence of divers witnesses, being in the privy-chamber,) the prince called to the said Willoughby, saying, "Willoughby, give me a cup of ale, for  
E s "I



“ I have been in the midst of Spain the  
“ last night.”

13. Nicholas bishop of Ely, that he  
could say nothing concerning the *carnalis copulatio*, but that he very much doubted it, in regard the queen often, *sub testimonio conscientie suae*, said to this deponent, that “ she was never carnally known by  
“ prince Arthur.”

These things being deposed, the bishop of Rochester stood up, and spake in this manner: “ and all this is no  
“ more than what hath formerly been  
“ deposed, examined, thoroughly debated, and scanned by the best and  
“ learnedst divines and lawyers that  
“ could possibly be got; which time  
“ I do very well remember, and am  
“ not ignorant of the manner of their  
“ proceedings, when and where all the  
“ allegations (in respect of what was  
“ then produced to the contrary) were  
“ adjudged vain and frivolous; whereupon the marriage was concluded:  
“ which marriage was afterwards approved, and ratified by the see apostolick, and that in such large and  
“ ample manner, as that I think it a  
“ very hard matter now again to call  
“ the same in question before another  
“ judge.”

Then

Then stood up another of the queen's counsel, doctor Ridley, a little man, but of a great spirit and profound learning, and said as followeth, " My lords the  
 " cardinals, we have heard how the queen  
 " herself, here in the face of the whole  
 " court, and in the Presence and hearing  
 " of the king himself, called the great  
 " God of heaven and earth to witness,  
 " that she was a pure virgin when she  
 " first came to the king's bed, and how  
 " she put it to his conscience, speaking  
 " unto him face to face: and if it were  
 " otherwise, we cannot imagine that  
 " either the queen durst so appeal unto  
 " him; or the king, so spoke unto (if  
 " unworthily) would not have contra-  
 " dicted her. Besides, we have here  
 " the testimony of a most reverend fa-  
 " ther, who hath deposed upon his  
 " oath how the queen had often, *sub*  
 " *testimonio conscientie sue*, said unto  
 " him, how that she never had any car-  
 " nal knowledge of prince Arthur,  
 " Now my lords, that such a frolick,  
 " or a jest (as that about a cup of ale,  
 " or the midst of Spain, which toge-  
 " ther with all the rest that hath been  
 " said, are but meer conjectures and  
 " presumptions) should stand in compe-  
 " tition with so great a testimony as a  
 sovereign

“sovereign princeſs’s ſolemn attestation  
 “of her cauſe upon the king’s con-  
 “ſcience, and that conſcience clearing  
 “her from ſuch preſumption by its own  
 “ſilence, ſhould cauſe us to lay aſide  
 “all reverence which we owe to for-  
 “mer power and authority, as that all  
 “the determinations, conſultations, ap-  
 “probations, confirmations of all for-  
 “mer powers, even of the ſee apoſto-  
 “lick itſelf, ſhould become void, by  
 “your calling this matter again into  
 “queſtion, is a thing, in my conceit,  
 “moſt deteſtable to be rehearſed, and  
 “a great ſhame to this honourable court  
 “to hear ſuch ſtuff ripped up to no o-  
 “ther purpoſe but in contempt of form-  
 “er power, and calling the wiſdom of  
 “our anceſtors and predeceſſors, toge-  
 “ther with our own, into queſtion and  
 “deriſion.”

Whereat cardinal Wolfey, that he might  
 not ſeem to ſay nothing by ſaying ſome-  
 thing, ſaid unto him in Latin, *Domine*  
*Doctor, magis reverenter*: “No, no, my  
 “lord, ſaid the doctor, there belongeth  
 “no reverence to be given at all; for  
 “an unreverent matter would be unre-  
 “verently answered.”

Whereupon cardinal Campejus called  
 for doctor Cuthbert Tonſtal, biſhop of  
 London,



London, and desired to hear him speak; for he was a man of profound judgment and learning, and one in whose wisdom and honesty the cardinal reposed great confidence. This Tonsal had written a very learned treatise in defence of the queen's marriage; which, indeed, should have been read in the court, but the king, fearing his abilities, purposely sent him upon an embassy into Scotland (at the very time he should have appeared) about a trivial business; so that he appeared not in court this second time.

It was conceived, that, had not the queen appealed unto Rome the marriage had been confirmed at this session, as it was afterwards by the pope himself, when it was too late; but being as it was, all matters of question and determination were clear laid aside, and only such things as belonged to instruction and information of his holiness in the cause were inquired after; and that upon the earnest motion of the bishop of Ely, one of the queen's counsel: whereupon both the legates determined to hear no further pleadings.

## C H A P. XII.

1. The king commanded the two cardinals to persuade the queen to relinquish her appeal.
2. Their obedience returns fruitless to his commands.
3. The king grows resolute, and demands sentence; the cardinals refuse to give it.
4. The lords of the counsel begin to storm.
5. The king, to conceive great indignation against the cardinal of York, retires suddenly into the Country.
6. The passage which happened between the king and Mr. Cranmer there.

**T**HUS the king, being disappointed of his purpose, sent for the cardinal of York, and gave him a strict charge to take unto him his fellow-cardinal, and immediately to repair unto the queen, and to use their utmost endeavours in persuading her to give over her appeal, and to stand to the judgment of the court, or else to surrender the whole business into his hands; and to use all the arguments his wisdom could devise, to persuade her it would be much the better and more honourable for both parties, than to stand to a publick trial in foreign parts.

The

The cardinal, to satisfy the king's commands, promised the uttermost of his endeavours in that behalf, but all in vain; for the queen stood stoutly to her appeal, and would not in any wise be brought to retract her former resolution, affording them the same reasons as formerly, and requesting them, for charity-sake, to give a simple and helpless woman the best advice they could, what was best to be done to the glory of God, the king's satisfaction, and her own honour: whereupon they both returned to their former persuasions, and the queen to her former answers. Thus the cardinals returned, well pleased that they could not conquer her, and the queen unfortunate that she was not overcome.

The king, put off thus from post to pillar, grew weary of these delays, and resolute in having a speedy end: he cared not which way, so it were done; and done it must be, as he would have it: wherefore he called another session, and in person urged a final sentence and the proceedings to be read in Latin; whereupon the king's counsel called for judgment. With that Campejus answered again in Latin, "Not so; I will give no sentence before I have made a relation of the whole transactions of these



“ these affairs unto the pope, whereunto  
“ I am obliged by virtue of the queen’s  
“ appeal, considering whose commis-  
“ sioners we are, and by whose autho-  
“ rity we here sit. I come not hither  
“ for favour or dread-sake, to pleasure  
“ any person living, be he king or sub-  
“ ject ; neither for any such respect-  
“ sake will I offend my conscience, or  
“ displease my God. I am now an old  
“ man, both weak and sickly ; and  
“ should I now put my soul in danger  
“ of God’s displeasure and everlasting  
“ damnation, for fear or favour of any  
“ prince in this world, it is not all the  
“ princes of the world, can give me  
“ comfort. I come hither to do justice,  
“ according to my conscience ; I have  
“ heard the allegations ; the party hath  
“ appealed from our sentence, as sup-  
“ posing us to be unfit judges in her  
“ cause, being subjects (under so high  
“ authority, and in his own realm)  
“ that dare not do her justice, fearing  
“ the king’s displeasure ; wherefore I  
“ will not do an act which I cannot an-  
“ swer to God, nor my superior ; and  
“ therefore I adjourn the court for this  
“ time.” So the court was dissolved,  
and nothing more of this nature was  
done (in England) ever after.

The

The lords about the king perceiving the miscarriage of the king's business, began to utter and speak big words against the two cardinals, and among the rest Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk (one whom the king had formerly raised from a mean condition to so high honour and dignity, and had bestowed his own sister upon him in marriage) clapped his hand upon the board, and swore, "by God's blood, he now found the saying to be true, that cardinals did never good in England;" which words he spake with such a spirit of vehemence, and clamorous noise, as if it had been (as indeed it was) the warning-piece to give notice to the kingdom when it was time to fall upon the clergy; and wise men thought he durst not have done it, had he not been privy to the king's mind before-hand.

The king himself, conceiving great indignation hereat, especially against the cardinal of York (whom he conceived not to have performed the utmost of his endeavours herein, but to have wilfully fallen from his omnipotency whilst he was on the Almighty's side) and queen's counsel, retires himself into the country for a space (as if, like the ram, he had run backward, that he might come on with

with a greater force of vengeance) ; where, being at that time at a place commonly called St. Osith, a house of my lord d'Arcy, near unto Colchester, this passage happen'd : Mr. Cranmer (a master both of all arts, and cunning how to use them, and fellow of Jesus-college in Cambridge) being at the same time retired into that country with one of his pupils, the sickness then raging in Cambridge, happened to be in an inn thereabouts, where some of the courtiers were, by reason of the court's then being at my Lord d'Arcy's house; where, hearing some of the courtiers relating how discontentedly the king behaved himself (by reason of those late accidents which had happened so cross to his designs) insomuch that he would hardly suffer any man to come near him, much less to speak to him, he spake unto them as followeth :

“ Gentlemen, if the king knew but  
“ his own power so rightly as he might  
“ be given to understand the same, there  
“ would be no cause left him for discontentment, but rather a way paved unto  
“ him for all manner of satisfaction:  
“ for, saith he, if the king rightly understood his own office, neither pope,  
“ nor any other potentate whatsoever,  
“ neither



"neither in causes civil or ecclesiastical,  
 "hath any thing to do with him, or  
 "any of his actions within his own  
 "realm and dominion; but he himself  
 "(under God) hath the supreme go-  
 "vernment of this land, in all causes  
 "whatsoever; and this I am able to  
 "make good, both with my learning  
 "and my life, against any man living."

One of the courtiers hearing this, and  
 knowing it to be a speech so justly cal-  
 culated to the height of that meridian,  
 and a saying so agreeable to the king's  
 temper, as if it had taken measure of  
 his mind, said thus unto him, "I tell  
 "thee, scholar, the king shall not sleep  
 "till I have told him what thou hast  
 "said; and if thou canst make thy  
 "words good, for ought I know (in  
 "time) thou mayest be a bishop":  
 whereupon he hastens to the court, and  
 to speak with the king. It was late in  
 the evening before he could find his op-  
 portunity, but at the last he found it;  
 and when he had related unto the king  
 what such a man had said, and what he  
 would undertake, the king swore by his  
 wonted oath, "Mother of God! that  
 "man hath the right sown by the ear:  
 "I shall not go to bed until I speak with  
 "him," commanding the same party  
 forthwith

forthwith to depart out of his presence, and to bring Cranmer to him with all speed. The messenger makes haste unto the inn, but Mr. Cranmer was departed to his friend's house two miles off before his return thither; wherefore the messenger gave strict order to the inn-keeper that he should send an express unto Mr. Cranmer, to tell him, that he should not fail to be at the court betimes on the morrow, for the king would speak with him. Back to the court the messenger returns with this account; whereat the king was exceeding wroth with the messenger, and swore that "he should find him out this night, if he were above-ground, and bring him to him, for he would not close his eyes until he had seen him." With much-ado night brought him unto the king, who brought night upon the church; for, questionless, there was the first platform raised for the church of England's downfal.

For, after much private conference first had between the king and Mr. Cranmer, and afterward with his most private council, the most cunning and able men (as spies) were speedily sent to Rome, to pry into the records, to see in what state and condition the clergy  
of

of England there stood with the pope of Rome; as also, what oaths the clergy of England did usually there take, and what obedience they had promised unto him, &c. and what advantages otherwise might be picked thence against the clergy here, whereby to draw them into a premunire.

These things performed, the king returns back again to London with an ocean of displeasure in his bosom, and a tempest in his countenance.

## C H A P. XIII.

1. Both the queens set against cardinal Wolsey.
2. Cardinal Campejus departs the kingdom.
3. A parliament is called, wherein great complaints are made against the clergy.
4. The bishop of Rochester his speech in parliament.
5. The commons highly incensed at his speech: they complain thereof unto the king.
6. The king questions the bishop therefore; the bishop's answer thereupon.

THE cardinal (Wolsey) had the two ladies, Katharine, that was so near her setting, and Anne, that was so



so apparent in her rising (though as different as the two poles between themselves) both against him; the one discovering, the other aggravating his offences; yet, though some time he had been an enemy to them both, neither of them had a better friend; for he proved such a constant enemy to the last, that he became a martyr for the former, and such a bitter adversary (sometimes) to the first, as he became (afterwards) the second's footstool to her throne; yet neither of them gave him thanks, which rendered his venom guilty of the nature of the spider's, thus to be entangled within his own web.

Cardinal Campejus, perceiving the king disposed to discontentment, takes his leave of his majesty, and suddenly departs the realm, after he had made his abode here in this kingdom near upon the space of one year. He was no sooner gone, but a sudden rumour arose, how that he had carried with him vast sums of money of the other cardinal's out of the realm; (for at that time cardinal Wolsey was suspected to fly the land, by reason of the king's displeasure) insomuch that he was speedily sent after, and overtaken at Calais; where, when they had searched all his carriages,

carriages, they scarce found so much money about him as would serve to defray his ordinary charges to Rome. This the cardinal Campejus took heavily, and thereat was marvellously discontented; which search for treasure was but a colour, for the thing which the king aimed at was the instrument which contained the sentence of divorce (which Campejus had shewed unto the king) in case he had seen cause to put the same in execution; and if the king had found it out, it is supposed he would have made good play therewith: but he was deceived of his purpose.

Howsoever, in the twenty-first year of the king's reign a parliament was summoned to begin at *London* the 3d day of November, in the year of our Lord 1529, and accordingly writs were directed to all the counties, &c. but, withall, private letters were sent to the most potent men, directing them whom they should chuse; which letters there were few or none durst disobey, so that there was a parliament filled to the king's heart's desire. And,

The regulations of all abuses of the clergy were referred to the house of commons, where severe complaints against the whole clergy, as well as against particular

particular clergymen, were daily presented ; whereof some the house of lords took into consideration, and some they rejected ; which, when the bishop of Rochester perceived, he spake as followeth :

“ My lords, here are certain bills exhibited against the clergy, wherein  
“ there are complaints made against the  
“ viciousness, idleness, rapacity, and  
“ cruelty of bishops, abbots, priests,  
“ and their officials : but, my lords,  
“ are all vicious, all idle, all ravenous,  
“ and cruel priests, or bishops ? And  
“ for such as are such, are there not  
“ laws provided already against such ?  
“ Is there any abuse that we do not  
“ seek to rectify ? Or, can there be such  
“ a rectification as that there shall be  
“ no abuses ? or are not clergymen  
“ to rectify the abuses of the clergy ?  
“ or, shall men find fault with other  
“ mens manners, while they forget their  
“ own ; and punish where they have no  
“ authority to correct ? If we be not  
“ executive in our laws, let each man  
“ suffer for his delinquency ; or, if we  
“ have not power, aid us with your assistance, and we shall give you thanks :  
“ but, my lords, I hear there is a motion  
“ made, that the small monasteries shall  
“ be



“ be taken into the king’s hands ; which  
 “ makes me fear it is not so much the  
 “ Good, as the Goods of the church,  
 “ that is looked after. Truly, my lords,  
 “ how this may sound in your ears, I  
 “ cannot tell ; but to me it appears no  
 “ otherwise, than as if our holy mother  
 “ the church were to become a bond-  
 “ maid, and new brought into ser-  
 “ vility and thralldom, and by little and  
 “ little to be quite banished out of those  
 “ dwelling-places, which the piety and  
 “ liberality of our forefathers (as most  
 “ bountiful benefactors) have conferred  
 “ upon her : otherwise to what tendeth  
 “ these portentous and curious petitions  
 “ of the commons ? To no other in-  
 “ tent or purpose, but to bring the cler-  
 “ gy into contempt with the laity, that  
 “ they may seize their patrimony. But,  
 “ my lords, beware of yourselves and  
 “ your country ; beware of your holy  
 “ mother the catholick church ; the peo-  
 “ ple are subject unto novelties, and Lu-  
 “ theranism spreads itself amongst us. Re-  
 “ member Germany and Bohemia, what  
 “ miseries are befallen them already ; and  
 “ let our neighbours houses that are now  
 “ on fire, teach us to beware of our own  
 “ disasters : wherefore, my lords, I will  
 “ tell you plainly what I think ; that,  
 F except

“ except ye resist manfully, by your au-  
 “ thorities, this violent heap of mischiefs  
 “ offered by the commons, you shall see  
 “ all obedience first drawn from the cler-  
 “ gy ; and secondly from yourselves ; and,  
 “ if you search into the true causes of all  
 “ these mischiefs which reign among them,  
 “ you shall find that they all arise through  
 “ want of faith.”

This speech pleased and displeased di-  
 vers of the house of peers, as they were  
 severally inclined or addicted to forward  
 or flatter the king's designs ; among the  
 which none made any reply thereto, but  
 only the Duke of Norfolk, who spake  
 thus unto the bishop, “ My lord of Ro-  
 “ chester, many of these words might have  
 “ been well spared ; but, I know it is of-  
 “ ten seen that the greatest clerks are not  
 “ always the wisest men.” The bishop  
 replied, “ My lord, I do not remember  
 “ any fools in my time that ever proved  
 “ great clerks.”

But when the commons heard of this  
 speech, they conceived so great displea-  
 sure against the bishop, that they forth-  
 with sent their speaker, Mr. Audley, to  
 complain of him to the king, and to let  
 his highness understand how grievously  
 they thought themselves injured thereby,  
 so as to be so highly charged for lack of  
 faith,

faith, as if they had been infidels or hereticks, &c.

The king therefore, to satisfy the commons, sent for my lord of Rochester to come before him; being come, the king demanded of him why he spake in such sort? the bishop answered, that "being  
" in council, he spake his mind in defence of the church, whom he saw daily  
" injured and oppressed by the common  
" people, whose office it was not to judge  
" of her manners, much less to reform  
" them; and therefore (he said) he thought  
" himself in conscience bound to defend  
" her in all that lay within his power." Nevertheless the king wished him "to  
" use his words more temperately:" and that was all; which gave the commons little satisfaction.

F

CHAP.



## CHAP. XIV.

1. The demand of all the small abbies within the land for the king's use.
2. The bishop of Rochester opposeth the demand in the convocation-house.
3. The minds of the clergy (before ready to condescend to the proposition) altered thereupon.
4. The bishop of Rochester escaped very narrowly from being poisoned at his dinner.
5. How he escaped another danger from the shot of a cannon.
6. His departure from his house in Lambeth-marsh to Rochester.

**I**Mmediately hereupon the aforesaid demand for all the small abbies and monastries within the land, of the value of two hundred pounds land and under to be given to the king, was revived; and the pretence for such demands of the clergy was, in recompence of the great charges and expences which the king was at concerning the divorce which he was put upon by the false and double dealing of the cardinal and his clergy; and therefore it was said to be all the reason in the world, that the clergy should satisfy the king again for the great expences he had been at; and this

this was urged with such importunity, as if the business had been called upon by sound of drums and trumpets: in conclusion, they all agreed that certain of the king's counsel should make demands hereof to the convocation of the clergy; which was performed with such a terrible shew of the king's displeasure against them, if they yielded not to his request, that divers of the convocation (fearing the king's indignation, and hoping by a voluntary condescension in these particulars to save the rest) were of a mind to satisfy the king therein: which the bishop of Rochester perceiving, he spake as followeth:

“ My lords, and the rest of our brethren here assembled! I pray you take good heed to what you do, lest you do you know not what; and what you cannot do: for, indeed the things that are demanded at our hands, are none of ours to grant, nor theirs to whom we should bestow them, if we should grant them their desires; but they are the legacies of those testators, who have given them unto the church for ever, under the penalty of a heavy curse imposed on all those who shall any way go about to alienate their property from the church. And be-

“ fides, if we should grant these smaller  
“ abbies, &c. to the king, what should  
“ we do otherwise than shew him the  
“ way how in time it may be lawful  
“ for him to demand the greater? where-  
“ fore the manner of these proceedings  
“ puts me in mind of a fable, how the  
“ ax, which wanted a handle, came  
“ upon a time unto the wood, making  
“ his moan to the great trees, how he  
“ wanted a handle to work withal, and  
“ for that cause he was constrained to  
“ sit idle; wherefore he made it his re-  
“ quest unto them, that they would be  
“ pleased to grant him one of their  
“ smallest saplings within the wood to  
“ make him a handle; who mistrusting  
“ no guile, granted him one of the  
“ smaller trees, wherewith he made  
“ himself a handle: so, becoming a  
“ compleat ax, he so fell to work with-  
“ in the same wood, that in process of  
“ time there was neither great nor small  
“ tree to be found in the place where  
“ the wood stood. And so, my lords,  
“ if you grant the king these smaller  
“ monasteries, you do but make him a  
“ handle, whereby, at his own pleasure,  
“ he may cut down all the cedars with-  
“ in your Libanus; and then you may  
“ thank yourselves, after ye have incur-  
“ red



“red the heavy displeasure of Almighty  
“God.”

This speech quite changed the minds of all those who were formerly bent to gratify the king's demands herein; so that all was rejected for that time.

After this, the bishop escaped a very great danger, for one R. Rose came into the bishop's kitchen (being acquainted with the cook) at his house in Lambeth-marsh, and having provided a quantity of deadly poison, while the cook went into the buttery to fetch him some drink, he took his opportunity to throw that poison into a mess of gruel, which was prepared for the bishop's dinner; and, after he had staid there a-while, went his way: but so it happened, that when the bishop was called unto his dinner, he had no appetite to any meat, but wished his servants to fall to, and be of good cheer, and that he would not eat till towards night: the servants being set to dinner, they that did eat of that poisoned dish were miserably infected, whereof one gentleman, named Mr. Bennet Curwen, and an old widow, died suddenly, and the rest never recovered their healths till their dying-day. The person that did this wicked deed, was afterwards, for the

same offence, boiled alive in Smithfield, in the twenty-second year of king Henry's reign.

Shortly after this, there happened another great danger to him in this same house, by reason of a cannon-bullet that was shot through his house, close by his study-window (where he was used to spend much time in prayer and holy meditations); which made such a horrible noise and clutter, as it went through, that all the house were suddenly amazed: upon enquiry made from whence this mischief should proceed, it was found out how that it came from the other side of the river, and out of the earl of Wiltshire's house, farther to the lady Anne Bullen. This being told unto the bishop, he called all his servants before him, and said unto them, "Let us truss up our baggage and be gone; this is no place for us to abide in any longer"; so he set forwards in his journey towards Rochester.

Whether these conspiracies were contrived by the king's consent or privity, it is not handsome to determine, being beneath a sovereign's anger, but rather they do seem to speak a feminine weakness in revenge. However, it is most certain that the king was highly incensed, and spake very many bitter words against him.

him at his table, and elsewhere; and experience tells us how too great officiousness may often take so large commission from them, as to attempt such things as are beyond the nature of their warrant.

The bishop, now come to Rochester, fell to his old accustomed manner of frequent preaching, visiting the sick, converting the seduced; and for his recreation, he would sometimes go and see his workmen, while they were employed in the reparation of Rochester-bridge, upon which he had bestowed great cost. He had not long remained in those parts, but he was robbed almost of all his plate by thieves in the night-time, who brake into his manour-house of Halling, near Rochester; which being perceived in the morning by his servants, they were all in great perplexity, and pursued the thieves as well as they could; and following them through the wood, the thieves let fall several pieces of plate, through the great haste which they had made in flying, so that they brought some of the plate back again before the bishop had heard of the loss of any: but the bishop coming down to his dinner, perceived an unwonted kind of heaviness and sadness in their countenances, insomuch that he asked them what was the matter? They seeming



unwilling to relate the story, and looking upon one another who should begin, he commanded them to inform him of the cause of such distraction, assuring them that he was armed for all adventures, deeming it to be some great matter: but when they had given a full relation of the whole business, and how they had recovered some of the plate back again, the bishop replied, "If  
" this be all, we have more cause to  
" rejoyce that God hath restored to us  
" some, than to be discontented that  
" wicked men have taken away any;  
" for the least favour of God Almighty  
" is more to be esteemed than all the  
" evil, which the devil and all his  
" wicked instruments can do unto us,  
" is to be valued; wherefore let us sit  
" down and be merry: thank God it  
" is no worse, and look ye better to  
" the rest".

C H A P.

## C H A P. XV.

1. The king's agents are returned from Rome with sufficient matter of vexation to the clergy.
2. The king calls another parliament.
3. The whole clergy are condemned in a premunire.
4. The king lays bold on that advantage to make himself head of the Church.
5. The bishop of Rochester his most admirable speech upon that occasion; whereupon the proposition was rejected.
6. The king persists in his demand.

**B**Y this time the king's agents, which were sent to Rome, were returned with sufficient matter wherewith to vex the whole clergy; for they had learned out how that there had been a privilege formerly granted from the see of Rome, no *Legate à latere* should enter the realm of England, except he were first sent for by the king. Now it happened that cardinal Wolsey (either ignorant, or forgetful of this privilege, or perhaps thinking he might do any thing without the king's consent or procurement) procured of, and for himself, the power legantine from the pope that then was; but, though the cardinal had exercised

cised that authority for the space of divers years, without the king's consent or privity, yet at length, perceiving his own error, and the danger he was in (if the king's favour, which was no inheritance, should chance to slack its sails) and perhaps how merrily the wheel of fortune began to turn about, he so wrought, formerly, with the king, that he procured a confirmation thereof under the great seal of England, as well for that which was past, as that which was to come; which the king full well remembring, thought the cardinal too hard for him; howsoever, he was resolved he would be too hard for the cardinal; and knowing that nothing stood between him and the mark he aimed at, but the reduction of this cardinal to the *statu quo* wherein he had him once safe enough, he so deals with a servant, then belonging to the cardinal, and in great trust about him, that by his means he regained the aforesaid ratification under the great seal into his own hands; and then to work he went. And

Accordingly he summoned another parliament to begin upon the 16th day of February, in the year of our Lord God 1530, in which parliament divers heinous matters were propounded against the clergy,



clergy, as a *prælude* of the winds to the ensuing tempest; then an account was given up in parliament of 100,000 l. charges which the king had been at to obtain so many instruments from foreign universities concerning the business of the divorce: all which expences, they said, the king had been at through the falsehood and diffimulation of the cardinal, and certain others of the chief of the clergy; all which it was demanded of the clergy, that they should make good unto the king. But when this business began to be propounded to the convocation of divines, it was there opposed, and especially by the lord bishop of Rochester, who said unto the king's orators, "it was not their faults, as they were there the body representative of the clergy, that the king had been at any charges at all concerning that business; for, to his knowledge, the clergy were generally against it, that any such matter should at all be brought in question; and that, if any such faulty persons were amongst them, it is fit they should be questioned, and compelled to give his majesty satisfaction": whereupon they all flatly denied, upon any such score, to make any restitution at all.

Then

Then the king, more furiously than ever, called the whole clergy into the king's-bench, and sued the cardinal, together with the whole clergy, in a premunire, for receiving and acknowledging the power legantine of the cardinal: which objection, whilst the cardinal thought with as easy a grace to wash off of him, as the proud swan to slide so much water off of his back; like the bastard-eagle, called *Haliaëtus*, he was drowned under the waves (because, like the true eagle, he poised not his prey before he offered to carry it) by catching after a fish, which was heavier than he could carry: and so they were all condemned upon the statute of king Richard II. in a premunire. Thus the king was put into a capacity of imprisoning whom; or as many of them, as he pleased, or to enter into or upon what goods or possessions of theirs he had a mind unto: whereupon the clergy, first fallen under the king's heavy displeasure, and now not being willing to abide the further danger of his displeasure under his justice, sued unto him for mercy, declaring unto him their willingness to pay the 100,000 l. upon his indemnity; which the king promised unto them, excepting the cardinal and some others.

But

But the business of the divorce stuck so indigestedly in the king's stomach, that, before he would either divorce them from their fears, or marry them to their former securities, he wished them all to repair unto their house of convocation; and there he would propound unto them a business, which if they would condescend unto, then they should find that he would be unto them a gracious prince. When they were assembled in the place appointed, such a business was propounded unto them, as never was propounded by men since there was a congregation of mankind, viz. that "they should acknowledge the king to be the supreme head of the church;" which was propounded chiefly by Mr. Thomas Audley (who, after Sir Thomas More had given over his place, was created lord chancellor of England; and that with such mixture of fair promises and threatnings together, that many of the convocation thought themselves in a capacity neither of refusing any thing that should be demanded of them by the king, nor of consulting what was, or was not to be granted; whereupon divers of the convocation, upon scanning of the business, were in a readiness to promote the king's design; and few there were



were that durst open their mouths to speak their minds freely: whereupon the Athanasius of the clergy, this stout prelate of whom we treat, thus took the business into consideration.

“ My Lords, it is true, we are all  
“ under the king’s lash, and stand in  
“ need of the king’s good favour and  
“ clemency; yet this argues not that  
“ we should therefore do that which  
“ will render us both ridiculous and  
“ contemptible to all the christian world,  
“ and hissed out from the society of  
“ God’s holy catholick church; for,  
“ what good will that be to us, to keep  
“ the possession of our houses, cloysters  
“ and convents, and to lose the society  
“ of the christian world? to preserve  
“ our goods, and lose our consciences?  
“ Wherefore, my lords, I pray let us  
“ consider what we do, and what it is  
“ we are to grant; the dangers and in-  
“ conveniences that will ensue thereupon;  
“ or whether it lies in our powers to  
“ grant what the king requireth at our  
“ hands, or whether the king be an  
“ apt person to receive this; that so we  
“ may go groundedly to work, and not  
“ like men that had lost all honesty and  
“ wit together with their worldly for-  
“ tune.

“ As

“ As concerning the first point, *viz.*  
“ what the supremacy of the church is,  
“ which we are to give unto the king?  
“ it is to exercise the spiritual govern-  
“ ment of the church in chief: which,  
“ according to all that ever I have learned,  
“ both in the gospel and through the  
“ whole course of divinity, mainly con-  
“ sists in these two points.

“ 1. In loosing and binding sinners;  
“ according to that which our Saviour  
“ said unto St. Peter, when he ordained  
“ him head of his church, *viz. to thee*  
“ *will I give the keys of the kingdom of*  
“ *heaven.* Now, my lords, can we say  
“ unto the king, *tibi*, to thee will I give  
“ the keys of the kingdom of heaven?  
“ if you say Ay, where is your warrant?  
“ if you say No, then you have answered  
“ yourselves, that you cannot put such  
“ keys into his hands.

“ Secondly, The supreme government  
“ of the church consists in feeding Christ's  
“ sheep and lambs; according unto that,  
“ when our Saviour performed that pro-  
“ mise unto Peter, of making him his  
“ universal shepherd, by such unlimited  
“ jurisdiction, *feed my lambs*; and not  
“ only so, but feed those that are the  
“ feeders of those lambs; *feed my sheep*:  
“ Now,

“ Now, my lords, can any of us say unto  
“ the king, *pasce oves*?

“ God hath given unto his church,  
“ some to be apostles, some evangelists,  
“ some pastors, some doctors; that they  
“ they might edify the body of Christ: so  
“ that you must make the king one of  
“ these, before you can set him one over  
“ these; and, when you have made him  
“ one of the supreme heads of the church,  
“ he must be such a head as may be answerable to all the members of Christ's  
“ body: and it is not the few ministers  
“ of an island that must constitute a head  
“ over the universe; or at least, by such  
“ example, we must allow as many heads  
“ over the church, as there are sovereign  
“ powers within Christ's dominion; and  
“ then what will become of the supremacy?  
“ every member must have a head: *attendite vobis*, was not said to kings, but  
“ bishops.

“ Secondly, Let us consider the inconveniences that will arise upon this  
“ grant: we cannot grant this unto the  
“ king, but we must renounce our unity with the see of Rome; and, if  
“ there were no further matter in it than  
“ a renouncing of Clement VII. pope  
“ thereof, then the matter were not so  
“ great: but in this we do forsake the  
“ first



“ first four general councils, which none  
“ ever forsook; we renounce all canon-  
“ ical and ecclesiastical laws of the church  
“ of Christ; we renounce all other  
“ christian princes; we renounce the unity  
“ of the christian world; and so leap  
“ out of Peter’s ship, to be drowned  
“ in the waves of all heresies, sects,  
“ schisms and divisions.

“ For the first and general council of  
“ Nice acknowledged Silvester (the bishop  
“ of Rome) his authority to be over them,  
“ by sending their decrees to be ratified  
“ by him.

“ The council of Constantinople did ac-  
“ knowledge pope Damasus to be their  
“ chief, by admitting him to give sentence  
“ against the hereticks Macedonius, Sa-  
“ bellinus, and Eunomius.

“ The council of Ephesus acknowledged  
“ pope Celestine to be their chief judge,  
“ by admitting his condemnation upon the  
“ heretick Nestorius.

“ The council of Chalcedon acknow-  
“ ledged pope Leo to be their chief head;  
“ and all general councils of the world  
“ ever acknowledged the pope of Rome  
“ (only) to be the supreme head of the  
“ church. And now shall we acknowledge  
“ another head? or one head to be in  
“ England, and another in Rome?

“ Thirdly,

“ Thirdly, We deny all canonical and  
“ ecclesiastical laws; which wholly do de-  
“ pend upon the authority of the apostoli-  
“ cal see of Rome.

“ Fourthly, We renounce the judgment  
“ of all other christian [princes, whether  
“ they be protestants or catholicks, Jews  
“ or Gentiles; for, by this argument,  
“ Herod must have been head of the  
“ church of the Jews; Nero must have  
“ been head of the church of Christ; the  
“ emperor must be head of the protestant  
“ countries in Germany, and the church  
“ of Christ must have had never a head till  
“ about three hundred years after Christ.

“ Fifthly, The king's majesty is not  
“ susceptible of this donation: Ozias,  
“ for meddling with the priest's office,  
“ was resisted by Azarias, thrust out of  
“ the temple, and told that it belonged  
“ not to his office. Now if the priest  
“ spake truth in this, then is not the  
“ king to meddle in this business: if he  
“ spoke amiss, why did God plague the  
“ king with leprosy for this, and not the  
“ priest?

“ King David, when the ark of God  
“ was in bringing home, did he place  
“ himself in the head of the priests or-  
“ der? did he so much as touch the  
“ ark,

“ark, or execute any the least, pro-  
“perly belonging to the priestly func-  
“tion? or did he not rather go before,  
“and abase himself amongst the people,  
“and say that he would become yet  
“more vile, so that God might be glo-  
“rified?

“All good christian emperors have  
“evermore refused ecclesiastical autho-  
“rity; for at the first general council  
“of Nice, certain bills were privily  
“brought unto Constantine, to be or-  
“dered by his authority; but he caused  
“them to be burnt, saying, *Dominus*  
“*vos constituit*, &c. God hath ordained  
“you (priests), and hath given you  
“power to be judges over us; and  
“therefore, by right, in these things, we  
“are to be judged by you; but you are  
“not to be judged by me.

“Valentine, the good emperor, was  
“required by the bishops to be present  
“with them, to reform the heresy of  
“the Arians; but he answered, foras-  
“much as I am one of the members of  
“the lay-people, it is not lawful for  
“me to define such controversies; but  
“let the priests, to whom God hath  
“given charge thereof, assemble where  
“they will in due order.

“Theodosius,



“ Theodosius, writing to the council of  
“ Ephesus, saith, it is not lawful for him  
“ that is not of the holy order of bishops,  
“ to intermeddle with ecclesiastical mat-  
“ ters: and now shall we cause our king  
“ to be head of the church, when all  
“ good kings have abhorred the very  
“ least thought thereof, and so many  
“ wicked kings have been plagued for  
“ so doing? Truly, my lords, I think  
“ they are his best friends that dissuade  
“ him from it; and he would be the  
“ worst enemy to himself, if he should  
“ obtain it.

“ Lastly, If this thing be, farewell  
“ all unity with Christendom! For, as  
“ that holy and blessed martyr saint  
“ Cyprian saith, all unity depends upon  
“ that holy see, as upon the authority  
“ of saint Peter's successors; for, saith  
“ the same holy father, all heresies, sects,  
“ and schisms, have no other rise but  
“ this, that men will not be obedient to  
“ the chief bishop; and now, for us  
“ to shake off our communion with that  
“ church, either we must grant the church  
“ of Rome to be the church of God, or else  
“ a malignant church. If you answer, she is  
“ of God, and church where Christ is truly  
“ taught, his sacraments rightly administred,  
“ &c. how can we forsake, how can we fly  
“ from

“ from such a church? certainly we ought  
“ to be with, and not to separate ourselves  
from such a one.

“ If we answer, that the church of  
“ Rome is not of God, but a malign-  
“ nant church; then it will follow, that  
“ we, the inhabitants of this land, have  
“ not as yet received the true faith of  
“ Christ; seeing we have not received  
“ any other gospel, any other doctrine,  
“ any other Sacraments, than what we  
“ have received from her, as most evi-  
“ dently appears by all the ecclesiasti-  
“ cal histories: wherefore, if she be a  
“ malignant church, we have been de-  
“ ceived all this while; and if to re-  
“ nounce the common father of Christen-  
“ dom, all the general councils, especi-  
“ ally the first four, which none re-  
“ nounce, all the countries of Christen-  
“ dom, whether they be catholick coun-  
“ tries or protestants, be to forsake the  
“ unity of the christian world; then is  
“ the granting of the supremacy of the  
“ church unto the king, a renouncing  
“ of this unity, a tearing of the seam-  
“ less coat of Christ in sunder, a di-  
“ viding of the mystical body of Christ  
“ his spouse, limb from limb; and tail  
“ to tail, like Sampson's foxes, to set  
“ the field of Christ's holy church all  
“ on

“ on fire; and this is it which we are  
“ about: wherefore let it be said unto  
“ you in time, and not too late, Look  
“ you to that”.

This speech so wrought with the whole convocation, that all difficulties were laid aside, and such an armour of resolution generally put upon the whole body there assembled, that, come what would, all was rejected, and the king's purpose for that time clearly frustrated. Notwithstanding all this, the king desisted not, but sent his orators to the convocation-house, to put them in mind of the dangers they were in, and to acquaint them with the king's heavy displeasure against them for denying him so reasonable a demand; both which particulars they aggravated and set forth to the highest advantage: but it was answered, that they were sensible enough of that which they had said; and for the king's displeasure they were very sorrowful, because they could not help it; wherefore if they must (they said) suffer, they must be contented.

The king having in vain thus attempted the fury of the wind, in bereaving these travellers of this upper garment of the church; he now makes trial what the policy of the sun will do.

Wherefore



Wherefore the king sent for divers of the chief leading men of the convocation, as well bishops as others, to come unto him at his palace of Westminster; at their first entrance into his presence, he shines upon them such a gracious look, as if all the rays of majesty had been bestowed upon them by that aspect; and courts them with the softest, mildest, and gentlest words that possibly he could use; protesting unto them, upon the word of a king, that if they would acknowledge and confess him for supreme head of the church of England, he would never, by virtue of that grant, assume unto himself any more power, jurisdiction, or authority over them, than all other the kings of England, his predecessors, had formerly assumed; neither would he take upon him to promulge, or make any new spiritual law, or exercise any spiritual jurisdiction, or intermeddle himself among them in altering, changing, ordering, or judging in any spiritual business whatsoever: "wherefore, said he, having made you this frank promise, I expect that you should deal with me accordingly": and so he dismissed them to consider of this business among themselves, and to give his orators an account thereof in the house the next morning.

## CHAP. XVI.

1. *The Bishops consult what course to take.*
2. *The bishop of Rochester proposeth unto them a parable; whereupon they all break off in confusion.*
3. *The king's orators repair unto the convocation to know the clergies final determination in the business.*
4. *The bishop of Rochester's speech unto the king's orators.*
5. *The orators reply unto the bishop's speech.*
6. *The headship of the church granted unto the king upon conditions; the conditions rejected; at last accepted of.*

**T**HE bishops, &c. as soon as they were departed the king's presence, retired to a place of privacy, to consider with themselves what were best to be done, and what account and advice they should give unto the rest of the clergy; some of them were apt enough to think the business now pretty fair, seeing the king had promised fairly; but, because my lord of Rochester was the only man that most stickled in this business, they all asked his opinion herein, in the first place; who soon answered them with this parable: "Thus stands  
" the

“ the case, my masters ; the heart, upon  
“ a time said unto the members of the  
“ body, let me also be your head, and I  
“ will promise you that I will neither see,  
“ nor hear, nor smell, nor speak ; but I  
“ will close and shut mine eyes and ears,  
“ and mouth, and nostrils, and will exe-  
“ cute no other offices than a mere heart  
“ should do.” Whereupon all hopes of  
reconciliation upon that trust, and ways of  
satisfaction were soon nipped in the bud ;  
and they all broke off in confusion with  
sad hearts.

The next day the orators came to the  
house of convocation, to know the clergies  
resolution in the business, repeating unto  
the whole house the words which the day  
before his majesty had spoken unto some of  
them ; and that over and over : and more-  
over saying unto them, that, if they should  
now oppose themselves against his majesty  
in this business, it must needs declare a  
great mistrustfulness which they had in the  
king's words, seeing he had made unto  
them so solemn and high an oath ; which  
words of theirs pressed so home, and fol-  
lowed so close with all the specious argu-  
ments and fairest promises that could be  
imagined, staggered indeed some, but si-  
lenced all, excepting him who is the sub-  
ject of this history ; who (after he had ear-



neftly required of the lords to take good heed what they did, and to confider the manifold mifchiefs and inconveniencies that would enfue unto the whole church of Chrift, if they fhould condefcend to any fuch request) applied himfelf unto the king's orators, and fpake thus unto them.

“ It is true, the king was graciously  
“ pleafed to proteft thus and thus: What  
“ if the king fhould alter his mind, where  
“ is our remedy? what if the king  
“ will execute the fupremacy, muft we  
“ fue unto the head to forbear being head?  
“ Again, this is invefted in him; his fuc-  
“ ceffors will expect the fame, and the  
“ parliament will, queftionlefs, annex that  
“ dignity to the crown. What if a wo-  
“ man fhould fucceed to the crown, muft  
“ ſhe be head of the church? what if an  
“ infant fhould fucceed, can he be head?  
“ This were not only, faid he, to make  
“ the church no church, but the ſcripture  
“ no ſcripture; and, at laft, Jeſus to be  
“ no Chrift.”

To the which fayings the orators replied, that the king had no fuch meaning as he doubted (repeating again his royal proteftation;) and further faid, that, though the fupremacy were granted unto his majeſty, fimplly and abſolutely according to his demand; yet it muſt  
needs

needs be understood, or so taken, that he can have no further power or authority thereby, than *quantum per legem Dei licet*; and then, if a temporal prince can have no such authority by God's laws (as his lordship hath declared) what needeth the forecasting of so many doubts?

The bishop of Rochester (perceiving the whole house to be much affected with their manner of pleading, and fearing that they might desert him in the end, through fear and dread of the king's displeasure) takes hold upon their last words, and thus speaks unto his majesty's orators :

" Gentlemen, you think that herein  
" we stand too stiff upon our own legs ;  
" but it is not so, but only in defence  
" of our own and your mother, the holy  
" catholick church, in whose bosom you  
" are as well as we; and the milk of  
" whose breasts it is your parts to suck  
" as well as ours, and within whose blef-  
" sed communion there is but one salva-  
" tion ; which is common unto all: where-  
" fore, Gentlemen, let it be your care  
" that our tenderness in this point be not  
" misconstrued to the king. And now,  
" as to this demand, that his majesty, and  
" you all may plainly see that we shall,  
" to please his majesty, do the uttermost  
" of what lies within our power in that  
" behalf ;

“ behalf; let all that which his majesty  
“ hath protested, and so solemnly taken  
“ his oath upon, be recorded, and the  
“ words, *quantum per legem Dei licet*, be  
“ inserted in the grant (which is no other-  
“ wise than what the king and you your-  
“ selves have faithfully promised and pro-  
“ tested) and for my part it shall be grant-  
“ ed.” Whereupon the orators went a-  
way as well satisfied, and made a report  
of all that had happened in the convocation-  
house unto the king; whereat the king  
was highly offended, and said unto them,  
“ Mother of God! you have plaid a pret-  
“ ty prank: I thought to have made  
“ fools of them; and now you have so  
“ ordered the business, that they are like-  
“ ly to make a fool of me, as they have  
“ done of you already. Go unto them  
“ again, and let me have the business  
“ passed without any *quantums* or *tantums*:  
“ I will have no *quantums* nor no *tantums*  
“ in the business, but let it be done.”  
Whereupon, immediately they returned to  
the convocation-house, calling and crying  
out upon them with open and continual  
clamour, to have the grant pass absolutely,  
and to credit the king’s honour, who had  
made unto them so solemn an oath and  
protestation; falling into disputation with  
the bishops, how far a temporal prince’s  
power



power was over the clergy: but the bishops soon disputed them into having nothing else to say, but "whosoever would  
"refuse to condescend to the king's  
"demands herein, was not worthy to  
"be accounted a true and loving subject,  
"nor to have the benefit of such a one."  
After which, nothing could prevail; for then the clergy answered, with unanimous consent and full resolution, that they neither could, nor would, grant unto the king the supremacy of the church, without those conditional words, *quantum per legem Dei licet*. And so the orators departed, relating unto the king all that had passed; who seeing no other remedy, accepted it with that condition, granting unto the clergy a pardon for their bodies and goods, paying him 100,000l. which was paid every penny.

## CHAP. XVII.

1. How Campejus related the whole business of the divorce unto the pope, and was blamed for the same. 2. The king sends two doctors of the civil law with private commissions to treat with the pope about the divorce. 3. The pope solemnly ratifies the marriage. 4. The sentence itself.

**B**UT we cannot well go on with our history, except we first arrive our discourse within the gates of Rome, to observe what account cardinal Campejus had given unto the pope of all these proceedings, which was no otherwise than what had passed directly here in England; which being related to his holiness by the cardinal, the pope blamed him exceedingly, for that he had not over-ruled queen Katharine, to have waved her appeal, whereby the business might have been determined within the king's own dominions; for which cause-sake he sent him thither. So slippery is the ground whereon ministers of state do set their feet in any business, and so uncertain is the pace wherein they are required to walk, that it is impossible for them to know when they go

go too fast, and when too slow ; for the pope was unwilling (as he might well have perceived) that so weighty a cause should have rested upon his determination at so great a distance. An ambassador, who upon occasion proffered, dares not adventure his own ruin, shall never do his master any notable service ; for he that goeth altogether by rule, loseth advantages : something must be left to his discretion besides his commission, or nothing can be performed that shall exceed an expectation ; but he that wanteth valour, knows not how to use it ; and he that hath it not to use, is not fit for such employment.

Campejus was no sooner arrived in Rome, but shortly after him followed doctor Bonner, and doctor Karne, two doctors of the civil-law, and both of them profound men, with secret commissions from the king to treat with his holiness, as of themselves, concerning the divorce ; which they did accordingly, and declared unto the pope, how that all the bishops and clergy of England were fully agreed, that the marriage, &c. was not lawful ; and therefore, that his holiness would do right well to make a definitive sentence. The pope demanded to see their commission and authority which they had to treat with



him: they answered, that the king was by this time grown somewhat unruly, and that, therefore, what they did, they did it upon their own score, and for the love-sake which they bare unto the common good of the catholick church, and for the peace and unity-sake thereof. Then the pope demanded of them to see the certificate under the bishops hands, whereby it might appear that they had so consented: to which they answered, that they had no such certificate for the present; but that they expected such a certificate daily to come unto them, together with a commission to treat with his holiness. Whereupon his holiness bade them expect.

All this while the king was framing a new model of a church, and sent these men over on purpose, if it were possible, to retard all proceedings at Rome, until such time as, by a new court of judicature, under a new supremacy, the marriage should have been adjudged null, before the pope's sentence of ratification (which was feared) should have made it good.

All which policies and workings here in England, you must not imagine them of Rome to be ignorant of.

Wherefore the pope takes the best  
and

and most substantial advice that could be given him, and calls unto him, not only his cardinals, &c. but the most able canonists and divines that could be heard of; and consults with the most famous universities, procuring the censures of the most famous men that had written of this case; among the rest, the two books of the before-mentioned doctor Tonstal bishop of London, and this our doctor Fisher bishop of Rochester (of which last book, if you will believe that reverend and famous clerk, Alphonso de Castro, it is said of him to be the most excellent and learned of all other works); and at last, after diligent examination of the business, seating himself in his tribunal-seat, and open consistory, by assent and counsel of his brethren the cardinals, pronounced this definitive sentence in the cause: The words begin as followeth:

*Clemens papa septimus.*

*Christi nomine invocato, in throno justitiae pro tribunali sedentes, &c. which in English is thus:*

Pope

## Pope Clement the seventh.

“ We, invoking the name of Christ,  
“ and having for our tribunal the throne of  
“ justice, and the glory of the Almighty  
“ God only before our eyes, by this our  
“ definitive sentence (which by the counsel  
“ and assent of our venerable brethren,  
“ the cardinals of the holy church of  
“ Rome, assembled before us in consistory)  
“ do in these writings pronounce, decree  
“ and declare, in the cause and causes,  
“ lawfully devolved upon us and the see  
“ apostolick, by an appeal brought before  
“ us of our well-beloved daughter in  
“ Christ, Katharine queen of England,  
“ from the judgments of the legates,  
“ deputed by, and sent from us and the  
“ see apostolick, between the forefaid  
“ queen Katharine, and our well-beloved  
“ son in Christ, Henry VIII. the most  
“ illustrious king of England, upon the  
“ validity and invalidity of the matrimo-  
“ ny between them contracted and con-  
“ summated; and upon other matters more  
“ largely deduced in the Acts of such like  
“ cause or causes, and committed to our  
“ son Paulus Capissuchus, then dean of  
“ causes of our holy palace, and in his  
“ absence to our reverend father Sy-  
moneta



" moneta bishop of Pausaria, supply-  
 " ing the place of one of our auditors  
 " of our said palace, to be heard, in-  
 " trusted, and in our Consistory to be  
 " reported, and by them to us; and  
 " the said cardinals reported, and ma-  
 " turely discussed, during the time of  
 " the matter depending before us, that  
 " the matrimony contracted between  
 " the said queen Katharine and king  
 " Henry of England, with all other  
 " consequents of the same, was, and  
 " is, canonical, and of good force;  
 " and that they may and ought to en-  
 " joy to them their due effects; and that  
 " the issue between them heretofore born  
 " or hereafter to be born, was and shall be  
 " legitimate; and that the 'foresaid king  
 " Henry ought, is, and shall be bound and  
 " obliged to co-habit and dwell with the  
 " said queen Katharine his lawful wife, and  
 " to entreat her with all husbandly af-  
 " fection, and kingly honour; and that  
 " the said king Henry is condemned, and  
 " by all remedies of Law is to be restrain-  
 " ed, and compelled, as we do condemn,  
 " constrain, and compel him, to accom-  
 " plish and fulfil all and singular the premises  
 " effectually; and that the molestations and  
 " refusals by the 'foresaid king Henry, by  
 " any manner of ways made to the said  
 queen

“ queen Katharine touching the invalidity  
 “ of the said matrimony, are and (always  
 “ from the beginning) were unlawful, and  
 “ unjust; and perpetual silence concerning  
 “ all the <sup>fore</sup>said matters, and the invali-  
 “ dity of the said matrimony shall be en-  
 “ joined unto the said Henry, and we do  
 “ enjoin it; and that the said king Henry of  
 “ England be condemned, and we do con-  
 “ demn him, in the expences lawfully made  
 “ before us and our said brethren, in such  
 “ case, on the behalf of the said queen Ka-  
 “ tharine; the Taxation of which expences  
 “ we reserve to ourself till another time: So  
 “ we have pronounced.

This was published in the palace of  
 Rome, in open consistory, the  
 23d of March, in the year of our  
 Lord God 1534.

Two men must be thanked for this (Wol-  
 sey and Fisher); and these two men must  
 be met withal, whereby they may receive  
 their payment: for the first, we leave him  
 to his own story, or some others on his  
 behalf; The second is the subject of my  
 pen; and how they found out him, the  
 following chapter must relate.

C H A P.

## C H A P. XVIII.

1. *The various rumour of the people concerning the divorce.*
2. *The history of the Holy Maid of Kent.*
3. *Divers persons of quality executed, as traitors, concerning her; and the bishop of Rochester, &c. convicted of misprision of treason for the same cause.*
4. *A new parliament called.*
5. *The marriage between the king and queen Katharine pronounced null by archbishop Cranmer.*
6. *A new oath made and tendred to both houses of parliament, &c. All take it, excepting the bishop of Rochester.*

**A**T the time when the kingdom began to be divided (when the king was about to make the divorce between his wife, as the first act of his supremacy) and to talk too busily, some in favour of the king, but most of the queen; it happened, that one Elizabeth Barton, at a place called Court at Strete, declared unto sundry persons that she had lately received certain visions and revelations, concerning the king's proceedings in this matter of divorce, and, as she thought, they came from God: and, often falling into a trance, she would declare,



declare, how that the king's putting away his wife would be a means to bring in heresy into the land; and that heresy great calamity over the whole kingdom: that the king, if he did put away his wife, should never have comfort in any other; that whatsoever he did, yet the daughter of this queen should reign; and because he deprived his mother, the holy catholick church, of so many children, all his children should die issueless, and himself comfortless; leaving an ignominious name and fame behind him to the world's end. To this and the like effect she would utter words, which were too wonderful to proceed, ordinarily, from so simple a reputed woman.

First, she communicated these visions, &c. to one Mr. Richard Mayster, parson of Aldington in Kent, whose penitent she was. This Mayster advised her to go to Mr. Edward Bocking, doctor of divinity, and a monk of Christ church in Canterbury, a man that was famous both for learning and devotion; who sent for one Mr. John Dering, another monk of the same house: all these advised her to go to the archbishop of Canterbury, doctor Warham, and to take his advice therein, and to follow his direction; who

who (as it was conceived, being conscious of the great ill will of the people, which he had drawn upon himself by being so great a furtherer of the divorce, and of the inevitable changes and alterations in religion, which he then saw evidently to ensue through his so much compliance with the king) shortly after discoursed with this maid and died of grief.

After whose departure from this life, the king, by virtue of his supremacy, appointed Cranmer to be archbishop of Canterbury. This woman's fame did so spread itself abroad over the whole kingdom, as that she was resorted unto by multitudes of people, and called by them the Holy Maid of Kent, whose virtues were exceedingly extolled by the preachings of Mr. Henry Gould, batchelor in divinity, and a learned man; father Hugh Rich, warden of the friars-observants in Canterbury, and Richard Risby of the same house; and, having gone her perambulation to the charter-house of London, and Shene, thence to the nunnery of Sion, and thence to the friars of Richmond, Canterbury, and Greenwich, at last she came to the king himself, and before him declared her mind fully and plainly with whom, as

she had quiet audience, so she had peaceable departure): at last she came unto the bishop of Rochester, doctor John Adefon his chaplain, and doctor Thomas Abel, sometime the queen's chaplain; who, as a rarity, admitted her to come before them to hear what she would say, as all men else had done. And now (and not till now) was this business looked upon as a matter of dangerous consequence: the king's council were called together to consult about it, who were divided amongst themselves concerning her: some were for letting her alone, as knowing not what to make of her; others were for rigour and cruelty to be shewed against her: in the end, forbearance was laid aside, and severity was to take its place, which sentenced it to be a traitorous conspiracy between the Maid and some that were chief of the clergy, to bring the king and his government into contempt and hatred with his people, whereby to encourage them to tumults and insurrections: wherefore the king sent for his judges, and certain others which were servient to the law, and propounded the case unto them, acquainting them with that which every one had done, desiring to know their opinions therein: who sitting in long con-



consultation, at last they made result, that Elizabeth Barton; Edward Bocking, John Dering, monks; Richard Mayster, Henry Gould, priests; Hugh Rich, and Richard Risby, friars-minors, were all by the law in the case of high treason; that my lord of Rochester, doctor Adeson, doctor Abel, &c. because they were not the first contrivers of the matter, but concealers of the thing, were only in the case of misprision of treason, viz. loss of goods, and imprisonment of their bodies during the king's pleasure: and thus the king got the opinion of the judges; but not so home, it was conceived, as he expected.

This being done, all the forementioned persons, opined to be within the case of high treason, were attached and carried to Lambeth before the new archbishop (Cranmer); where, after they had been examined by him and others of the commissioners, and charged with treason, fiction, and hypocrisy, falshood, dissimulation, and conspiracy, tumults, rebellion, and insurrection; they were all sent to the Tower. Thus the king got the parties into prison: which being done,

The king called a parliament in the 25th year of his reign, to be held at Westminster upon the 15th day of January, where

where they were all attainted of high treason: the Maid judged to be hanged and beheaded at Tyburn; the rest to be hanged and quartered alive: the bishop of Rochester, doctor Adeson, doctor Thomas Abel, register to the archdeacon of Canterbury, and Edward Thwaites, gent. convicted of misprision of treason; of which conviction (being it was no more) the bishop of Rochester for that time got himself cleared, paying unto the king three hundred pounds.

A little before this parliament sat, the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) had decreed (which decree was made at Dunstable) that the 'foresaid marriage, solemnized between the king and the lady Katharine, was clearly and absolutely against the laws of Almighty God; and that it ought to be accepted, reputed, and taken as of no value or effect, but utterly void to all intents and purposes; and that the marriage which was to be had and solemnized between the king and the lady Anne Bullen, ought to be taken as undoubtedly true, sincere, and perfect; which marriage (carrying with it the soveraign infortunity of all second marriages) being completed, the same parliament enacted a statute, which declared the establishment of the king's succession to the imperial crown, to be upon the issue which

which he was to have by the present queen Anne, ratifying whatsoever the <sup>fore</sup>saide archbishop of Canterbury had decreed, and disinheriting the issue which the king had by the <sup>fore</sup>saide lady Katharine, from all title to the <sup>fore</sup>saide crown and government; or that, if any person, of what state and condition soever, shall, by writing, printing, or any exterior act or deed, procure, or do any thing to the prejudice, slander, disturbance, or derogation of the said matrimony, or the issue growing of the same, every such person shall be deemed and adjudged as an high traitor, and suffer such punishment as in case of high treason is provided: and for the better keeping of this act, the king's majesty, together with his counsellors, of their own authority, framed an oath upon the breaking up of this parliament (which was upon the 30th day of March) and tendered it the same day to all the lords, both spiritual and temporal, as likewise to all the commons; and was to be tendered to whom the commissioners for the same purpose should call before them; the words of which oath were these, viz.

“ Ye shall swear to bear faith, truth,  
“ and all obedience, only to the king's  
“ majesty, and to the heirs of his body,  
“ and of his most dear and entirely be-  
“ loved



“ loved wife queen Anne be gotten, and  
“ to be begotten; and further, to the  
“ heirs of our sovereign lord, according  
“ the limitation made in the statute, for  
“ surety of his succession in the crown  
“ of this realm, mentioned and contain-  
“ ed; and not to any other within this  
“ realm, nor to any other foreign autho-  
“ rity or potentate whatsoever: and in  
“ case any oath be made, or hath been  
“ made by you, to any person or persons,  
“ that then ye do repute the same as  
“ vain, and annihilate; and that to your  
“ cunning, wit, and utmost endeavours,  
“ ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and  
“ defend the said Act of succession, all the  
“ whole effects and intents thereof, and  
“ all other acts and statutes made in  
“ confirmation and for execution of the  
“ same, or any thing therein contained:  
“ and this ye shall do against all manner  
“ of persons, of what state, dignity, de-  
“ gree or condition soever they be; and  
“ in no wise do or attempt, nor to your  
“ power suffer to be done or attempted,  
“ directly, any thing or things, privily  
“ or openly, to the lett, hindrance, dan-  
“ ger or derogation thereof, or of any  
“ part of the same, by any manner of  
“ means, or any manner of pretences: so  
“ help

"help you God, and all his saints, and  
"the holy evangelist".

Which oath all the lords, both spiritual  
and temporal, took, except the bishop of  
Rocheſter, who abſolutely refuſed it: ſo the  
parliament was ended.

But the ſaid biſhop had not been four  
days quiet within his palace of Rocheſter,  
but a letter came to him from the archbi-  
ſhop of Canterbury, together with other of  
the commiſſioners, willing him perſonally  
to appear before them in the ſaid archbi-  
ſhop's houſe, by a certain day expreſſed  
within the letter, all excuſes ſet apart.

NOW was the thing come to paſs,  
which was nothing new to him,  
being it was foreſeen: wherefore he  
did make his will, and leaves ſeveral  
legacies to divers perſons and uſes; as  
to his houſe in Cambridge, where  
he received his education; to ſome  
colleges; to the poor; to ſome of his  
friends; and to all his ſervants; whom  
he leaves weeping behind him, while  
he follows him, lamenting his death.  
Then he journeyed towards London,  
paſſing through the city of Rocheſter.

## C H A P. XIX.

1. *The bishop of Rochester summoned to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury.*
2. *Sir Thomas More and doctor Wilson committed for refusing the oath.*
3. *The bishop of Rochester sent to the Tower for the same cause.*
4. *A Parliament is called, wherein the bishop's imprisonment was voted lawful.*
5. *The supremacy of the church conferred on the king, &c. by act of parliament, absolutely, and without the former clause.*
6. *An act of parliament making it treason to deny the king to be supreme head of the church.*

NOW was the thing come to pass, which was nothing terrible to him, because it was foreseen: wherefore he first makes his will, and leaves several legacies to divers persons and uses; as to Michael-house in Cambridge, where he received his education; to St. John's college; to the poor; to some of his Friends, and to all his servants; whom he leaves weeping behind him, while the rest followed him, lamenting his condition, in his journey towards Lambeth. Passing through the city of Rochester, there



there was a multitude of people gathered together, both citizens and countrymen, to whom he gave his benediction, riding by them all the while bareheaded: some crying, that they should never see him again; others denouncing woes unto them that were the occasion of his troubles; others crying out against the wickedness of the times; and all of them lamenting and bewailing that which was their misery and his glory. Thus he passed on his way till he came to Shooter's hill, twenty miles from Rochester; on the top whereof he rested himself, descending from his horse; and causing to be brought before him such victuals as he had caused to be brought thither for that purpose, he said, "he would now make use of his time, "and dine in the open air, while as he "might:" after which dinner he cheerfully took his horse, and came to London the same night.

The day of his appearance being come, he presented himself before the archbishop of Canterbury, (at Lambeth) the lord Audley chancellor of England, Thomas Cromwell the King's secretary, and the rest of the commissioners, authorized under the great seal of England to call before them whom they pleased, and to tender unto them the "foresaid  
H oath,

oath, then sitting at Lambeth: where, at the same time, the bishop met with Sir Thomas More, who welcomed and saluted the bishop in these terms; "well-met, my lord! I hope we shall meet in heaven:" to which the bishop replied, "This should be the way, Sir Thomas; for it is a very strait gate we are in." There had been doctor Wilson, sometime the king's confessor, who, together with Sir Thomas More, had refused the oath a little before the bishop's coming; for which the knight was committed, for the present, to the custody of the abbot of Westminster, as the doctor had been formerly committed, to the tower of London: at which time also the clergy of London were warned to appear about the same business, who all of them took the oath at the same time: Then was it that the bishop of Rochester was called before the archbishop, &c. who (putting the bishop in remembrance of the act which was made by the late parliament (which had provided an oath to be administered to all persons within this realm, concerning the establishment of the succession, &c.) how all the lords, both spiritual and temporal, had taken the said oath, only himself excepted; how grievously his majesty was offended with him therefore; how he had given strict charge to himself and the

the

the rest of the commissioners, to call him before them, and to tender unto him the oath once more) presented unto him the oath, laying it before him, and demanded of him what he would say thereto. The good man, perusing it a-while, requested that he might have some time to consider upon it: the commissioners consulting with themselves a-while, granted him five days to consider upon it; and so dismissed him for the present: whence he departed to his own house in Lambeth-Marsh.

During the small time of his abode there, divers of his friends came rather to take their leaves of, than to visit him; among which, one Mr. Seton and Mr. Bransby, substitutes of the masters and fellows of the two colleges to which he had shewed himself so much a friend; partly to salute him in the name of the two societies, and partly to desire his confirmation of their statutes under his seal, which he had drawn long before: but the bishop desired to have some further time to consider of them, as he “intended. (Alas!  
“ (said the two gentlemen) we fear your  
“ time is now too short to read them, before  
“ you go to prison. It is no matter, (said  
“ the bishop) then I will read them in  
“ prison. That will hardly be permitted,  
“ (said the trustees) if you come once there.  
“ Then God’s will be done (said the  
H 2 “ bishop)



“ bishop) for I shall hardly be drawn  
“ to put my seal to that which I have  
“ not well considered of: howsoever, (said  
“ he) if the worst should happen, there is  
“ Mr. Cowper (a worthy reverend man,  
“ and a batchelor in divinity) that hath  
“ the copy of the same statutes which I have;  
“ if I do not, or cannot, according to my  
“ desire, peruse them, I will give it you  
“ under my seal, that, if you like them,  
“ that shall be unto you a confirmation;  
“ for I am persuaded that, one time or  
“ other, those statutes will take place:”  
and accordingly it happened; for when this  
master Cowper (long after the imprison-  
ment and death of the bishop of Rochester,  
and the change and alteration of the times,  
which had made religion, lords, and laws,  
all new) committed this book of statutes  
to the custody of one Mr. Thomas Watson  
(a man that afterwards came to great ho-  
nour and estimation for his profound learn-  
ing, and was afterwards elected to the ma-  
stership of St. John’s college, and after-  
wards to the bishoprick of Lincoln) he, as  
the bishop of Rochester foretold, restored  
them to the house; who admitted them as  
their only laws, whereby they were wholly  
governed during the reign of queen Mary.  
The time being come when the good  
bishop was to give an account of the pre-  
mises,

mises, he presented himself before the commissioners, acquainting them how that he  
“ had perused the oath with as good deliberation as he could; but, as they had framed  
“ it, he could not, with any safety to his  
“ own conscience, subscribe thereto, except  
“ they would give him leave to alter it in  
“ some particulars, whereby his own conscience might be the better satisfied, the  
“ king pleased, and his actions rather justified and warranted by law.”

To this they all made answer, that the  
“ king would not in any wise permit that  
“ the oath should admit any exceptions or  
“ alterations whatsoever;” and, said the bishop of Canterbury, “ you must answer  
“ directly, whether you will, or you will  
“ not subscribe.” Then, said the bishop of  
“ Rochester, if you will needs have me  
“ answer directly, my answer is, that, for-  
“ asmuch as my own conscience cannot be  
“ satisfied, I absolutely refuse the oath.”  
Whereupon he was immediately sent to the tower of London, which was upon Tuesday the 26th of April, in the year of our Lord God 1534, and upon the 25th year of the king’s reign, being the last of his reign for that year.

Thus, the *remora* to the king’s proceedings, in this kind, being removed, the ship  
H 3 went.

went merrily along; for, all things being fitted for a parliament, there was a parliament, which was fitted for all things, immediately called, in the 26th year of the king's reign, and upon the 23d day of November, which wrought above nine wonders, lasting but fifteen days; wherein the bishop of Rochester's imprisonment was voted lawful, and all other men their imprisonments good and lawful, that should refuse to take the 'forelaid oath (which authority before was wanting): also another statute was enacted, whereby the supremacy of the church of England was given to the king, his heirs and successors, to have and enjoy the same, as a title and stile to his imperial crown, with all honours, jurisdictions, authorities, and privileges thereunto belonging; with full power and authority, as himself listeth, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all heresies, abuses, errors, and offences, whatsoever they were, as fully and as amply as the same might, or ought to be done, or corrected, by any spiritual authority or jurisdiction whatsoever; and that without the clause or condition of *quantum per legem Dei licet*; which was as contrary to the king's promise to the convocation-house, as it was answerable to what the  
the



the good bishop forewarned the clergy of, whilst he sat amongst them. And thus, while the king acted the pope, the bishop became a prophet.

This act being once passed, the king required them to pass another act, *viz.* that if any manner of person whatsoever, should, by word or deed, presume to deny the title of supremacy, then every such person so offending, should be reputed and adjudged as an high traitor, and suffer and abide such losses and pains, as in cases of high treason is provided,

## CHAP. XX.

1. *The king sends divers learned bishops to persuade the bishop of Rochester to take the oath.*
2. *The bishop of Rochester's answers unto the bishops.*
3. *Sir Thomas More committed to the same prison.*
4. *The comfort which they received in each other.*
5. *Their letters intercepted, and the bishop's man committed to close prison therefore.*
6. *The simple, yet merry, question which he made thereupon. The lord chancellor, with divers other great lords, sent by the king to persuade the bishop.*

**B**UT when that business came to be discussed in the parliament-house, the commons themselves began to think it a very hard law, and full of rigour; "for," said they, a man may chance to say such a thing by way of discourse, or such a word may fall from a man negligently, or unawares;" all of them, as yet, not otherwise able but to think it a strange thing, that a man should die for saying, "the king was not the head of the church." This debate held them many days; at last the king sent them word, that, except it could be proved that the party spake it maliciously, the statute should not be of any

any force to condemn : so the word *maliciously* was put in, and it passed currently ; which afterwards served to as much purpose, as the words *quantum per legem Deo licet*.

During the bishop's hard and close imprisonment, the king (as he had at several other times so done) sent divers of the privy council, as well bishops as others, to persuade the bishop of Rochester to take the oath of succession: after that the bishop had suffered a great deal of rhetorick to come from them, he thus spake unto them:

“ My very good friends, and some of  
 “ you my old acquaintance, I know you  
 “ wish me no hurt, but a great deal of  
 “ good ; and I do believe that, upon the  
 “ terms you speak of, I might have the  
 “ king's favour as much as ever : where-  
 “ fore, if you can answer me to one question,  
 “ I will perform all your desires. What's  
 “ that, my lord, said one and all of them?  
 “ It is this, said the bishop, *What will it*  
 “ *gain a man to win the whole world, and to*  
 “ *lose his own soul?*” Whereupon after  
 some little talk to no purpose, they all left  
 him ; some of them wishing, for their own  
 security, that either they had him in the  
 same danger that they were in, or else that  
 they were endued with the same constancy  
 of mind that he was of. Now the same



God which refused him comfort in his visitants, sent him the consolation of a fellow-sufferer, which was Sir Thomas More, the same of the world, who was now sent to the same prison where he was, and for the same cause; whereat he seemed to conceive no small joy, to whom, as soon as opportunity would give leave, he sent by his man his most loving and hearty commendations, and received the like from him: between whom, to their comforts, there passed sundry letters for a while, until such time that there was notice taken thereof, and one of their letters intercepted and carried to the king's council; which being read, although there was not in any part of it the least part of evil, yet was it taken in evil part; and a great charge was given unto their keepers to restrain them from that liberty.

The bishop's man being clapped up a close prisoner, and threatened to be hanged for carrying letters to Sir Thomas More, asked the keeper, "if there were another  
"act of parliament come forth, whereby  
"a man should be hanged for serving his  
"master? Which coming from a man that was so noted for his simplicity, set them in to such a laughter, that, after a little examination, as how many letters he had carried, &c. he was set at liberty, with a  
strict

strict charge given him that he should carry no more letters.

After the king had tryed all other ways, he sent the lord chancellor Audley, together with the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Wiltshire, secretary Cromwell and divers others of the council, to the bishop of Rochester, to certify him of the new law that was lately made concerning the king's supremacy, and the penalty thereof to them: that should gain-say it, or withstand it; and to know in his majesty's name, whether he would acknowledge it, as the rest of the lords both spiritual and temporal had done, or not: to which the bishop, after some pause, replied unto them, "My lords, you present before me a two-edged sword; for, if I should answer you with a disacknowledgment of the king's supremacy, that would be my death; and if I should acknowledge, perhaps contrary to my own conscience, that would be assuredly unto me worse than death: wherefore I make it my humble request unto you, that you would bear with my silence; for I shall not make any direct answer to it at all." Whereupon the commissioners were nothing satisfied, but urged him more and more to answer one way or other, directly telling him how displeasing such kind of shiftings would appear unto

unto his majesty ; how much the king was formerly displeased with his correspondence with Sir Thomas More : “ wherefore, “ said the lord chancellor, if you should “ now thus use him, you would exasperate “ his grievous indignation against you “ more and more ; and give him just cause “ to think, that you deal more stubbornly “ with him than well becomes the duty of “ a good subject.”

To which the bishop replied, that “ as “ concerning the letters which had passed “ between him and Sir Thomas More, he “ wished with all his heart they were now “ to be read ; which, if they were, said “ he, would declare more innocence than “ hurt on our behalf, most of them being “ only friendly salutations and encourage- “ ments to patience. Indeed I was a lit- “ tle curious (knowing the great learning “ and profound wit that is in the man) to “ know what answer he had made to the “ questions which were asked him concern- “ ing the statute ; which answers he sent “ unto me, as I had sent unto him mine : “ and this is all the conspiracy that was be- “ tween us, upon that conscience which I “ suffer for ; and I will suffer a thousand “ deaths, before ever it shall be called upon “ by me to justify the least untruth : and, “ whereas you tell me that his majesty will “ be



“ be much displeased with me for this  
 “ doubtful kind of answer; truly, my  
 “ lords, no man shall be more sorry for the  
 “ king’s displeasure, than he that tells you  
 “ he is sorry to displease the king: but,  
 “ when the case so stands, that, in speak-  
 “ ing, I cannot please him, except I dis-  
 “ please Almighty God, I hope his majes-  
 “ ty will be satisfied with my silence.”

Then said Mr. Cromwell, “ wherein do  
 “ you (more than other men, who have  
 “ satisfied the king’s desires herein) think  
 “ you shall displease Almighty God?”  
 “ Because, said the bishop, I know how  
 “ my own conscience dictates to me; but  
 “ do not, how another’s may inform him.”  
 “ If your conscience be so settled, said the  
 “ lord chancellor, I doubt not but you  
 “ can give us some good reasons for it.”  
 “ Indeed, my lord, said the bishop, I  
 “ think I am able to give your lordships  
 “ reasons, that perhaps may seem sufficient,  
 “ why my conscience stands affected as it  
 “ doth; and could be well contented that  
 “ you hear them, could I declare my  
 “ mind with safety, and without offence  
 “ unto his majesty and his laws.” After  
 which not a word more was spoken for  
 that time; but calling for the lieutenant,  
 they re-delivered him unto his custody,  
 giving the lieutenant a strict charge that no  
 further

further conference, or messages, should pass between him and Sir Thomas More, or any other.

All which being related to the king upon their return to court, the king swore they were all fools, and asked them, "if there were not more ways to the wood than one:" they told his majesty, that they had tryed all the ways that they could find or think upon, advising his majesty to send some of his own unto him, to perswade him further, as thinking it more proper for them: but the king swore, "Mother of God, both More and he should take the oath, or he would know why they should not; and they should make them do it, or he would see better reasons why they could not;" wishing them to see his face no more until it were done.

## CHAP. XXI.

1. The notable flights which the council used to procure the two prisoners (Fisher and More) to take the oath.
2. The king sends the most grave and learnedst bishops unto him.
3. How the bishop's man set upon his master to persuade him, after such a time as the bishops were gone, and could not prevail with him.
4. Bishop Fisher is created cardinal by Paul III. pope of Rome.
5. The cardinal's bat was sent as far as Calais.
6. The king sends to stop it from coming any farther.

**T**HE lords were by this time put to their trumps, and to use their wits, how they might bring this thing to pass: wherefore the next morning they sent for Sir Thomas More to come to court; and after they had kept him there three hours waiting upon them, they admitted him in to their presence; and causing the door to be close shut, they discoursed with him about half an hour, the main subject of the discourse being to persuade him to conformity, and compliance with the king in these demands, and to assure him how graciously (thereupon) he should be received into the king's favour, and accustomed good.



good opinion of him : but, all being in vain, he was detained in safe custody within the court, and a strict charge was given that he should not speak with any man, and that none should be permitted to speak to him. This being done, it was given out that Sir Thomas More had taken the oath, so that all men believed it. This done, they sent for the bishop of Rochester the same day, and urged him very sorely to take the oath of supremacy, saying, that he (resting himself wholly upon Sir Thomas More, by whose persuasion he stood out so stiffly against the king) had now no reason but to do as he had done ; who shewing him now the way, they all expected him to do no otherwise than to follow the good example which he had given him, and be received into the like grace and favour with the king, as his fellow-prisoner was at that time received. The good bishop, hearing as much before, and now those lords justifying as much as he had heard, believed no less, and seemed to be much troubled thereat, and sorrowful for his sake ; but, in the end, he thus spake unto the lords ; “ My lords, I confess I am a little perplexed at that which you now tell me, which is no more than what I have heard already ; I am exceeding sorrowful that that courage  
— should

“ should now be wanting to him which I  
 “ once thought never would have failed  
 “ him ; and that constancy had not been  
 “ an addition to all his other great and sin-  
 “ gular virtues : but I am not a fit man  
 “ to blame him, in regard I was never  
 “ assaulted with those strong temptations  
 “ (meaning of wife and children) the which,  
 “ it seems, at last, have overcome him ;  
 “ however, because ye say I wholly depend  
 “ upon his judgment, and stood out by  
 “ his persuasions, I know not how better  
 “ to let you know how much you were  
 “ deceived with that opinion, than to let  
 “ you see how I now stand to the same  
 “ ground, upon my own legs, which for-  
 “ merly I stood upon ; wherefore now I  
 “ here tell you plainly (as concerning the  
 “ oath) that as I will not say any thing a-  
 “ gainst it, so I cannot in any wise possi-  
 “ bly take it, except I should utterly make  
 “ shipwreck of my soul and conscience ;  
 “ and then I were fit neither to serve God  
 “ nor man.” Which having peremptorily  
 declared, he was commanded to be with-  
 drawn, and kept close within a chamber of  
 the court, which led towards the king’s  
 lodgings. It was likewise given out, that  
 the bishop had subscribed to, and taken the  
 oath of supremacy ; and that he was then  
 conducted to the king to kiss his hand.

In

In this interim, it happened that Mrs. Margaret Roper, (the darling daughter to Sir Thomas More, one that had much access unto the lords, by reason of her great friends and manifold perfecti-  
ons) was at the same time at the coun-  
cil-door, with a petition in her hand, thinking to deliver it unto the lords in the behalf of her father, to procure him more enlargement within the Tower than what he formerly had enjoyed; and hear-  
ing of her father's being there, was re-  
solved to inform herself of the event of that day's conference: which the lord chancellor Audley perceiving, and know-  
ing her business, went out unto her, and thus thought to persuade, how the daugh-  
ter's thimble might prick a needle into the father's conscience, viz. Mrs. Roper, I am sorry I can do you no more ser-  
vice, in that which you so earnestly so-  
licit in your father's behalf: truly, Mrs. Roper, your father is to blame to be so obstinate, and self-willed in a business wherein no man in the whole realm stands out but only he and a blind bishop; and yet that bishop was not so blind, but at the last, with much ado, we have brought him to see his own error. With that Mrs. Margaret gave a spring for joy, and asked him, are you sure that my lord  
of



of Rochester hath taken the oath? yes, said the lord chancellor, and more than that, he is now with the king, and you will see him at liberty, and in great favour with the king. Then I will warrant you, said the poor gentlewoman, that my father will not hold out. Go, said the lord chancellor, and persuade your father that he do not, before he be brought before us; for I wish him well, and it is a great pity that such a man as he should be cast away. Away goes Mrs. Margaret to her father, but could not be admitted to speak with him: back she comes to the lord chancellor and procures his warrant of admittance: in she comes unto her father, and tells him all that she had heard with a great deal of confidence. When her father had heard all that she would say, he only answered her with a soft voice, "peace, daughter; my lord of Rochester hath not taken the oath": yes indeed, father, it is so, said his daughter, for my lord chancellor told me as much with his own mouth, who wisheth you well; and my lord of Rochester is at liberty, and is now with the king, and in great favour: "Away, away, you fool," said Sir Thomas More; thou art not "used to these flights; I know the tricks "of them all: they think to take me "in

“ in a puppet-snatch, but they are de-  
“ ceived; and I tell thee more, if the  
“ bishop had taken the oath, yet it  
“ should never be taken by me: a bi-  
“ shop is a corrector of vice, but no pre-  
“ cedent for sin.” After they had had  
much talk to this and no purpose, Sir  
Thomas More was sent for, to appear be-  
fore the lords; where he was no sooner en-  
tered the room, but they all called upon  
him to do as my lord of Rochester had  
done before him; all of them using no o-  
ther arguments, but my lord of Roches-  
ter, my lord of Rochester; as my lord  
of Rochester had shewed him a good ex-  
ample. Sir Thomas More asked them  
where my lord of Rochester was? saying  
that, if he could but speak with my lord  
of Rochester, it may be his motives might  
induce him to take the oath: they told  
him that my lord of Rochester was where  
he might also be, viz. with the king, if  
that he would do but as he hath done.  
May I not speak with him, said Sir Tho-  
mas More, before I take this oath? they  
answered that he should speak with him  
as soon as ever he had taken it; but to  
speak with him before, was not so proper;  
because then it would be said he pinned  
his judgment upon another’s sleeve:  
neither would they wish him to desire  
it,

it, in regard that the king would then have cause to thank the bishop, and not him, for such his condescension; and besides, that would be too great a slighting of us that are here, in that you will not take our words for such a business. I pray you then, said Sir Thomas More, let me see his hand, if he have subscribed: that, said the chancellor, is carried also with him to the king: Then let me tell you, said Sir Thomas More, that I do not believe my lord of Rochester hath either subscribed his hand, or taken the oath; and if he had done both, I could do neither. Whereupon they were both sent back to the Tower.

The king, seeing these engines would not hold, betook himself to the advice which the lords had formerly given him, and he refused to take, viz. of sending unto him men of his own coat, to persuade with him in this business; wherefore he sent for doctor Stokesly bishop of London; Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester; doctor Tonstal bishop of Durham, and commanded them to repair immediately unto their brother of Rochester, and see what they could do; and see they did it, for he would have it done. These men (knowing there was no mercy to be had, if they did not do their uttermost endeavour, at the least,



least, to give the king all manner of satisfaction herein) went to the Tower and dealt heartily with the bishop in that business.

But, before I will tell you what answer the bishop made unto their importunities therein (that you may the better know the miseries of those times) you shall first understand that these very men (after that this good man was dead and rotten) perceiving this supremacy to exercise its authority more and more, until at last it came to an alteration of their religion in point of doctrine, would often weep most bitterly, and, careless of themselves, wish that they had stuck to their brother Fisher, and not to have left him wholly to himself, as wickedly they did: and not only so, but they would preach the same openly in their pulpits, and upon all other occasions and times of meeting, and that before the lords of the council, and sometimes in the king's hearing; which drew great commiseration from their hearers, and at length the king himself to serious animadversions of what he had done; and at last to a rectification of what he thought he had done amiss, by his speedy enjoining of the six main articles of catholick religion (which these bishops penned themselves) to be propounded unto all his subjects, and to be subscribed unto;

in

in which religion the king died : and in the reign of king Edward VI. (when the supremacy was held in a subject's hand over a child's head, being then convened before the king's commissioners, and there urged to proceed according to the fruits of those times) they did not only recant their former doings, but suffered themselves to be deprived of so great dignities, and to endure the same prison ; where, for the space of five years, they had no other comfort but the expectation of that martyrdom, which might be an expiation to them of those errors, which fear and worldly vanity had caused them to run into ; which resignation of themselves so willingly into the hands of Almighty God, was answered with a mercy, which restored them unto their former liberties, dignities, and honours, in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary. But to return to my former story.

When these men had persuaded the good bishop all they could, to do what their own consciences told them should not have been done, the good bishop made them this reply :

“ My lords, it doth not grieve me  
“ so much to be urged so sorely in a  
“ business of this nature, as it doth  
“ wound me grievously that I should  
“ be

“ be urged by you, whom it concerns as  
“ much as me : alas ! I do but defend  
“ your cause, whilst you so plead against  
“ yourselves : it would better become us  
“ all to stick together in repressing the vi-  
“ olences and injuries which daily are ob-  
“ truded upon our holy mother the catho-  
“ lick church, whom we have all in com-  
“ mon, than, thus divided among your-  
“ selves, to help on the mischief : but I  
“ see judgment is begun at the house of  
“ God ; and I see no hope, if we fall, that  
“ the rest will stand : you see we are be-  
“ sieged on every side, and the fort is be-  
“ trayed by those who should defend it ;  
“ and, since we have made no better re-  
“ sistance, we are not the men that shall  
“ see an end of these calamities : where-  
“ fore, I pray, leave me to Almighty  
“ God, in whom only there is comfort,  
“ which no man can deprive me of : and  
“ for that you have so often told me of the  
“ king’s heavy displeasure against me, I  
“ pray remember my duty to his grace,  
“ and tell him, I had rather exercise the  
“ duty that I owe unto his grace, in pray-  
“ ing for him, than in pleasing him in this  
“ kind.” So they departed from him with  
heavy hearts, and sad countenances ; and  
never came unto him any more.

Within



Within a while after the bishops were thus gone, the poor fellow, his man that waited upon him, being somewhat simple, and hearing all the discourse, began to take his master in hand, thinking he had now got reason enough to speak thus unto his lord and master: Alas! my lord, why should you stick, said he, with the king, more than the rest of the bishops, which are learned and godly men? doubt ye not, he requireth no more of you, but only that you would say he is head of the church; and, methinks, that is no great matter; for your lordship may still think as you please: whereat the bishop fell into such a fit of laughter, that he little thought he should have laughed so much so long as he had a day to live: but the man, taking courage at this, began to prosecute his begun discourse in a manner which he thought more serious; which the bishop cut short with this compofure of jest and earnest: Tush  
“ tush! thou art but a fool, and knowest  
“ but little what belongs to this business;  
“ but hereafter thou mayest know more.  
“ Alas, poor fellow! I know thou lovest  
“ me, and speakest this out of simplicity  
“ and love together; but I tell thee, it is  
“ not only for the supremacy that I am  
“ thus tossed and tumbled, but also for a  
“ nother oath (meaning the oath of successi-  
I “ on)

“ on) which if I would have sworn unto,  
 “ I believe I should never have been much  
 “ questioned for the supremacy ; nor is it for  
 “ these two I stand out, but for the ensuing  
 “ evils, that must necessarily follow here-  
 “ upon : and this thou mayest say, another  
 “ day, thou hast heard me speak, when I  
 “ am dead and gone.”

Upon the 21st of May, in the year of our Lord 1535. Paul III. pope of Rome (hearing the fame of this good bishop's constancy, and sufferings, in defence of the catholic church) at the solemn creation of cardinals in Rome, in the first year of his consecration (among divers other worthy and famous men) he nominated this good bishop Fisher for one that should be made a cardinal ; whereupon, the same day before specified, he was also was intituled, *Sancti. Rom. Ecclesie titulo sancti Vit. presbyteri cardinalis*. This the pope did for his great worth, and merit-sake, thinking that, by reason of the dignity and advancement of so high a degree of eminence, either the king would use him with more clemency for his dignity sake ; or else that he might thereby heap further trouble and danger upon the king, if, notwithstanding that dignity, he continued such his displeasure against him : and this was it that clean threw him over the perch, and brought him  
 him

him in a fiery chariot to his journey's end, whirled by all the furious winds of rage and madness; for upon the sending of the cardinal's hat to him from Rome, which was intended to have been performed with the greatest ceremony that ever any hat was sent from thence (taking no notice of the condition he was in;) whereby it was conceived, that the king would reflect within himself, and take some heed how he offended so great a body as had the universe for its dimension. But it fell out otherwise; for Harry VIII. (for all the other kings were called Henries) with his dagger was resolved to go through-stich with what he had begun: wherefore, as soon as ever he had intelligence hereof, he sent immediately to Calais, to stop the favour of the pope from coming any farther into his dominions, until his pleasure therein was further known; which was done accordingly.



## C H A P. XXII.

1. The king sends his secretary to the bishop; to know of him, in case the pope should send unto him a cardinal's hat, whether he would accept of it or not.
2. The bishop's answer thereunto.
3. The king highly offended with his answer.
4. A notable, but most wicked, policy, to entrap the bishop within delinquency.
5. A commission to inquire and determine treasons.
6. Three monks of the charter-house executed.

**I**Mmediately hereupon, the king sent Mr. Thomas Cromwell his secretary, to this good father thus in prison, to advertise him what was done, and to hear what he would say thereto; who being come into the prisoner's chamber, after some other conference had passed between them concerning divers other businesses, he said unto him; my lord of Rochester, what would you say if the pope should send you a cardinal's hat? would you accept of it? whereat the bishop of Rochester replied; "sir, I know  
 "my self to be so far unworthy of any  
 "such dignity, that I think of nothing less;  
 "but if any such thing should happen, assure  
 "yourself I should improve that favour to the  
 "best

“ best advantage that I could, in assisting  
 “ the holy catholick church of Christ; and  
 “ in that respect I would receive it upon  
 “ my knees”.

Mr. Cromwell making a report of this answer afterwards to the king, the king said with great indignation, “ Yea, is he  
 “ yet so lusty? well, let the pope send  
 “ him a hat when he will, mother of God!  
 “ he shall wear it on his shoulders then,  
 “ for I will leave him never a head to  
 “ set it on”.

And now was this impregnable piece of constancy and strong fort of innocence, surrounded on every side, by the most watchful eyes, and diligent inquiry, how a breach may be made into it, by the battery of a new law for prejudice to enter. In order to which machination, it was resolved upon (after that the blessed man had continued a prisoner, within the Tower, the space of a whole year, and somewhat more) that one Mr. Richard Rich, (then solicitor-general, and a man in great trust about the king) should be sent unto the bishop, as from the king, upon some secret message, to be imparted to him on his majesty's behalf; which message was to this effect, viz. That he had a great secret to impart unto him from the king, which was a case of conscience; “ for said he,

“ the truth is, my lord, that though you  
“ are looked upon (as you now look upon  
“ yourself) as a man utterly folorn; yet,  
“ I must tell you, and not as from my-  
“ self, but as a thing uttered to you by  
“ the king’s expresse commands, that  
“ there is no man within the king’s domi-  
“ nions, that he looks upon as a more  
“ able man, or a man upon whose honesty  
“ and upright dealings he will more rely,  
“ than on yourself, and what you shall  
“ be pleased to say in that behalf; where-  
“ fore he bids me tell you, that you should  
“ speak your mind freely unto me, as to  
“ himself, concerning the business of su-  
“ premacy, protesting upon his royal  
“ word, and the dignity of a king, that  
“ if you should tell him plainly it were  
“ unlawful, he would never undertake  
“ it: and one thing more, said he, he  
“ wished me to acquaint you with;  
“ which is, that you may see how far  
“ his royal heart and pious inclination is  
“ from the exercise of any unjust or il-  
“ legal jurisdiction thereby; that, if you  
“ will but acknowledge his supremacy,  
“ you your-self shall be his vicar-general  
“ over his whole dominions, to see that  
“ nothing shall be put in execution, but  
“ what shall be agreeable both to the laws  
“ of God, and good mens liking: but,  
“ faith



“saith he, the king thinks that whilst  
“his people acknowledge any other head  
“besides himself, his crown sits not safe  
“nor rightly upon his own: Wherefore,  
“I pray, my lord, since the king hath  
“been so graciously pleased to open his  
“breast unto you in these particulars,  
“that you will answer the respect with  
“an ingenuity that shall be suitable to  
“such high favour; and that without  
“any the least suspicion of any fraud or  
“guile intended to your good lordship,  
“either by him or me.”

The poor bishop, thinking he had assurance enough in conscience, when for conscience-sake his opinion was required in such and such matters, answered thus freely:

“Worthy sir, as to those high commendations which his majesty, by your  
“own mouth, is pleased to give me,  
“I think them higher than what deservedly can stoop so low to take into  
“due consideration so mean worth as  
“that which every one must look to  
“find, that makes true search into me;  
“however, according to the ability and  
“faithfulness which is resident in this  
“poor piece of earth, I shall answer freely and without fear of any other intentions.

“ tions towards me, than what are just  
“ and honourable.

“ As to the businels of supremacy, I  
“ must needs tell his majesty, as I have  
“ often told him heretofore, and would so  
“ tell him, if I were to die this present  
“ hour, that it is utterly unlawful; and  
“ therefore I would not wish his ma-  
“ jesty to take any such power or title upon  
“ him, as he loves his own soul, and the  
“ good of his posterity; for it will be such  
“ a precedent as none will follow; whilst all  
“ will wonder at it, and will never leave  
“ this land till it lies buried with the power  
“ that first assumed it; and to what pur-  
“ pose were it to make me his Vicar-gene-  
“ ral of his whole dominions, to see that  
“ nothing were done contrary to the laws  
“ of God, when nothing is more contrary  
“ to God’s law, than that I should be so?

“ And as to his majesty’s conception of  
“ his crown not sitting rightly upon his  
“ head, while his people (as so many half  
“ subjects) own any other head besides him-  
“ self; I must tell you, my lord, that such  
“ a kind of headship is no more prejudicial  
“ to the temporal supremacy, than judg-  
“ ment (which is the top of the soul) is  
“ inconvenient to the intellects: for I  
“ must tell you, my lord, there were  
“ never any greater stays or supporters  
“ to

“ to any crown, than were your English  
 “ catholicks all along unto the crown  
 “ of England, and that even against  
 “ all or any the least encroachments  
 “ offered or attempted to be made, even  
 “ by the bishop of Rome himself, as  
 “ you shall find in the sta-  
 “ tute-laws of king Richard Stat. king  
Rich. 11.  
 “ 11. where you shall find (in  
 “ many busineses wherein the pope of  
 “ Rome himself was interested) the roman  
 “ catholicks flatly denying the crown of  
 “ England (which they stoutly averred im-  
 “ mediately to be subject unto none but  
 “ God, and to no other in all things touch-  
 “ ing the regality of the said crown) to be  
 “ subject to the pope of Rome: and yet the  
 “ very same parliament, said the bishop,  
 “ at the same time acknowledged the  
 “ bishop of Rome (in respect of his spiri-  
 “ tual jurisdiction) to be their most holy  
 “ father”.

And this the author assures Bp. Bilson in  
 the reader to be taken notice his true dif-  
 of by bishop Bilson, where he ference be-  
 brings in this parliament (con- tween chris-  
 sisting then altogether of ro- tian and an-  
 man catholicks) thus expressing tichristian Re-  
 their loyalties to their sovereign bellion. Part  
 prince, viz. We will be with iii. pag. 243.  
 our said sovereign lord the king, and his 244.  
 said



said crown, and his regality in cases afore-  
said; and in all other cases attempted a-  
gainst him, his crown and dignity, in all  
points to live and die.

Nor will I only bring in your protestant  
bishops, but also your protestant chronolo-  
gies of latest editions averring the same,  
Hol. in his se- viz. Hollingshed, where you  
cond volume may find how, in the reign of  
of the last e- king Edward I. all the lords  
dition, p. 309 (then catholicks, assembled at  
b. line 66. Lincoln in parliament, in the  
name of all the estates) did an-  
swer the pope's right to judge,  
&c. viz. that they would not  
consent that their king should  
do any thing that should tend  
to the disinheriting of the right of the  
crown of England; and that it was never  
known (wherefore never practised) that the  
king of this land had answered, or ought to  
answer, for their rights in the same realm,  
before any judge ecclesiastical or secular.

Ibid,  
pag. 310.  
line 2.

And yet, notwithstanding all this, in their  
special letter writ to the same pope (Boni-  
face) at the same time they thus wrote un-  
to him:

Ibid. p. 30. Boniface, by God's providence,  
a. line 11. high bishop of the holy roman  
and universal church, stiling  
themselves his devout sons, where (notwith-  
standing

standing all this) it consisted with their devotion, further to affirm that the king of England ought not to answer for any of their temporalities before any judge ecclesiastical, by reason of the free preheminance of the estate of the royal dignity, and custom kept without breach at all times; and, after full treaty and deliberation, it was consistent likewise with their devotion, to make it their common argument and unanimous consent (which agreement they said should be without fail in time to come) that their forefaid lord the king ought not by any means to answer in judgment, nor send any proctors to the pope's presence; especially seeing that the premises tended manifestly to the disinheriting of the crown of England, and also to the hurting of the liberties and laws of their fathers, and the duties of their oath made, which (said they) we will maintain with all our power, and defend with all our strength; and will not suffer our forefaid lord the king, to do or attempt the premises, being so unaccustomed, and before not heard of.

Ibid. pag. 310. a. l. 11.

Ibid. pag. 310. a. l. 14.

Ibid. pag. 311. a. l. 2.

Ibid. pag. 311. a. l. 9.

Non

Annotations

upon the

Rhem. Test.

chap. xiii. 2.

An. in 1. Pet.

chap. ii. 13.

Nor will we only bring you your own chronicles, but our own annotations upon our own testaments: where you shall find catholicks acknowledging themselves bound in conscience to obey their emperors and governors, though they were heathens and persecutors.

Bell. li. de

laicis. c. x.

&amp; xi.

Our greatest champions; where you shall find Bellarmine himself maintaining, how that the laws of magistrates do bind even the consciences of Christians.

Dr. Kellison

in his survey,

printed 1603.

p. 480.

Our strictest casuists; where you shall find them averring, how that "faith is not necessary to jurisdiction"; and that "authority cannot be lost by the loss of faith".

Tract. 3.

Sect. 5. writ-

ten by J. Bre-

seley, An.

1608.

Your own protestants apology for the Roman church though writ by us, yet made by you; where you shall find the roman catholicks acknowledging themselves indissolubly bound by all laws, human and divine, in the highest degree of all earthly allegiance, to the present temporal government; notwithstanding, at the same time, the magistracy was adverse unto them in matters of religion, and heavy upon them by reason of the same.

Our



Our own submissions and protestations, in the vindication of our loyalty to the temporal magistrate, as the declared will of God in that behalf; where you shall find us quoting all these several texts of scripture out of the word of God, to the same purpose; how that we ought not to speak evil of our governors, though Exo. xxii. 28. they should persecute us; nor Acts xxiii. 5. so much as to think amiss of Eccl. x. 20. them; but to be subject to Rom. xiii. 2. them, and that not only for Rom. xiii. 5. necessity, but for conscience-sake, lest otherwise we should be damned.

Where should a man find better subjects? and yet these are the men who have been traduced all along, as inconsistent with politick government. And why should the same loyalty be suspected at any time, still to remain within the same breasts? since their religion, laws (both civil and ecclesiastical) custom, provision for the future, oaths and protestations all along, evermore obliged them to such obedience: especially whereas, at this present, all other sorts and sects of the christian religion (excepting those who are for all sorts and sects) appear against the present government, like Aries, Scorpio, Leo, Sagittarius, &c. as if they would all, and every one of them, wound each part and member of this body politick:  
the

the roman catholicks, like Pisces (the emblem of the fisherman) are contented to remain quiet under foot.

And this digression from the subject, we have in hand, I have presumed to make; whereby the courteous reader may be more courteous, if he please, to roman catholicks, seeing they have no such ugly features in their faces, as their adversaries would have them have, when the vizards are taken off, which they have clapt upon their faces: and therefore let not, hereafter, a few discoloured, powder-spirited, and inconsiderate men (among so many thousands, of the same religion, and better quality, that were then ignorant of, and afterwards detesting the design as diabolical) blow up a whole cause, so universal; or contract any tragical or immoderate application, for the sake of some few, against the whole; any more than equity herself shall think it reason, that one devil shall be able to prejudice the dignity of the twelve Apostles; since there hath not been all along (which way soever the government was addicted, to one or other religion) more faithful, peaceable, and loyal subjects, than were the roman catholicks; excepting an exception, which makes, but never mars, a general rule.

What if this good bishop had lived to see, how in the days of queen Elizabeth, when

when she first took upon her the government of this land (although catholicks were then the chiefeſt miniſters, both in church and ſtate, and had, at that time, the government of both ſettled in that courſe, and therefore queſtionleſs were ſufficient to have uſed any indirect, or forcible means, if ſuch kind of loyalty had been conſiſtent with their religion, to have impugned that alteration in religion, then evidently foreſeen to enſue) the catholick biſhops (although ſhe was a princeſs of a contrary religion) were ſo far from holding their croſiers over, that they ſet the crown upon, her head; inſomuch that they are commended by Hollingſhed for peaceable and quiet biſhops, and the catholick and temporal lords are by him recorded to be ſo far from oppoſing themſelves againſt her intereſt, that they are there ſaid to “ offer her majeſty, “ in her defence, to impugn and reſiſt “ any foreign force, though it ſhould come “ from the pope himſelf;” inſomuch that they alſo are there commended by Hollingſhed himſelf for loyalty and obedience: and had he ſeen how the lord arch-  
biſhop

Hol. vol. iii.

An. Eliz. 26.

p. 1358.

Ib. p. 1360.

b. line 26.

Ib. l. 26.

Ib. l. 35.

Ib. l. 40.

Ib. l. 53, 54,  
&c.



bishop of Canterbury himself, and chancellor of England (a catholick bishop;) how, instead of inveighing against her, or casting forth libels against her authority (as archbishop Cranmer did against queen Mary, her entrance into the government,) he made a publick oration in her behalf, to perswade the people to obedience, and acknowledgment of her highness's power and authority; insomuch that

Godwin  
in his cata-  
logue of bi-  
shops.

the said archbishop's faithfulness was left to the commendation of a protestant bishop, adverse to him in his religion: how all the catholick

lords and catholick bishops repaired with all speed to London to proclaim her queen,

*Hol. ubi supra,*  
p. 1170. l. 15.

who not long after turned them all out of their several offices and bishopricks. And,

On the contrary, how, when queen Mary was to be invested in her right,

As the Suffolk  
people, Stow  
in his annals,  
p. 1046.

protestants would not receive her as their queen, but upon conditions; nor assist her without indentures; nor acknow-

ledge her but upon such and such terms: how

Stow. An.  
printed 1592.  
p. 1039,  
and 1045.

war was waged against her by the duke of Northumberland, a protestant duke; bills spread

abroad,

abroad, and several treacherous practices contrived against her and her right and dignity by archbishop Cranmer, a protestant archbishop; for which he was afterwards arraigned and condemned of high treason: what great commotions were made against her by Wiat, upon the score of religion; how towns and castles were taken and held out against her by Stafford; how daggers were thrown at, and guns shot off at the priests of her Religion, while they were preaching at Paul's cross; insomuch that it is notoriously evident, that there were more open rebellions during the five years of her short government, than during the four and forty years of her late majesty's after-reign: and yet these, and such like men as these are, are accounted martyrs; while we only suffered martyrdom.

Stow. An.

p. 1046.

Stow. An. p.

1047.

Stow *ubi supra*, p. 1039, 1058.

Had this good bishop, I say, lived to have seen, and to have observed, all these particulars, how much more able would he have been to have answered master Rich his objection, (from his majesty) concerning the inconsistency of the pope of Rome's spiritual, with his

tem-

temporal supremacy: but now both the fish, and the fisher himself, is caught within the net that was laid for him; for Mr. Rich was no sooner departed from him, but, immediately after, the king commanded a commission to be drawn and given to Mr. Audley, his lord chancellor, and certain other persons commissioned under his great seal, to enquire and determine treasons; which commission was dated the first day of June, in the 27th year of the king's reign; against which time the king's learned counsel, among the rest, had drawn up an indictment of high treason against the bishop of Rochester, and three Monks of the Charter-house of London, whose names were William Exmew, Humphrey Midlemore, and Sebastian Nudigate. This indictment was not long in finding; for, on St. Barnaby's day (the apostle) being the 11th of June, it was presented to the commissioners sitting in the king's-bench at Westminster: whereupon the Carthusians were shortly after arraigned and condemned; and, having sentence of high treason pronounced upon them, they were all three put to death at Tyburn, the 19th day of July following, all in their religious habits.

But



But this good bishop of Rochester (now cardinal, if it be lawful to call him so) chanced at that time to be very sick, insomuch that he had like to have saved the commissioners, and divers others, a great deal of pains, which afterwards they bestowed upon him, and it is conceived would willingly have spared : wherefore the king sent unto him his own physicians to administer unto him, to his great charges (as I have it in my record), to the value of fifty pounds, only that he might be reserved for further trial. In the mean time, lest any conveyance might be made of his goods remaining at Rochester, or elsewhere in Kent, the king sent one Sir Richard Moryson, of his privy-chamber, and one Gostwick, together with divers other commissioners, down into that country, to make seizure of all his moveable goods that they could find there; who being come into Rochester, according to their commission, entered his house: and the first thing which they did was, they turned out all his servants; then fell to rifling his goods, whereof the chief part of them were taken for the king's use, the rest they took for themselves: then they came into his library; which they found so replenished, and with such  
kind

kind of books, as it was thought the like was not to be found again in the possession of any one private man in christendom; with which they trussed up, and filled thirty-two great vats, or pipes, besides those that were embezzled away, spoiled and scattered; and whereas, many years before, he had made a deed of gift of all these books, and other his household-stuff, to the college of St. John's in Cambridge (as in the beginning of this history it was mentioned) two frauds were committed in this trespass; the college were bereaved of their gifts, and the bishop of his purpose: yet both found out a way, through gratitude to a reception; for the college accepted the good will for the deed, and the Almighty received the giver for his good will: and whereas a sum of money, of 300 l. was given by a predecessor of the bishop, to remain as a depositum for ever to the said see of Rochester, in the custody of the bishop for the time being against any occasion that might happen to the bishoprick; to which this good bishop had added one hundred pounds out of his own purse, with this inscription upon a label which hung out at the bag's mouth, *tu quoque fac simile*: and notwithstanding that there was there written,

written, in an old character upon the inside of the chest, *Let no man offer to lay hands on this, for it is the churches treasure*; yet they swept it all away. And

I cannot omit (as a scene of mirth in this sad tragedy) to relate unto you one merry passage, which happened in this *quærendum*. There was a wooden coffer, strongly girded about with hoops of iron, and double locked, which stood in his oratory; where commonly no man came but himself, for it was his secret place of prayer. This coffer thus fenced about, and in so private a place, and close unto him, every man believed verily that some great treasure had been stored up in that same coffer: wherefore, because no indirect dealing might be used in defrauding the king in a matter of so great consequence as this was thought to be, witnesses were solemnly called to be present; so the coffer was broken up before them, and much pains was taken in breaking up the coffer: but, when it was opened, they found within it, instead of gold and silver, which they looked for, a shirt of hair, and two or three whips, wherewith he used full often to punish himself, as some of his chaplains and servants have often reported, that were near about him, and curiously marked



marked his doings; and other treasure than that found they none at all. But, when report was made to him in his prison of the opening of that coffer, he was very sorry for it; and said, that if haste had not made him forget that and many things else, those things had not been to be found there at that time.

After this good bishop was recovered to some better strength, by the help of his physicians, and that he was more able to be carried abroad, he was on Thursday the 17th of June, brought to the king's-bench at Westminster, from the Tower, with a huge number of halberts, bills, and other weapons about him, and the ax of the Tower borne before him with the edge from him, as the manner is; and, because he was not yet so well recovered as to be able to walk by land all the way on foot, he rode part of the way on horse-back in a black cloth gown; and the rest he was carried by water, for that he was not well able to ride through for weakness. As soon as he was come to Westminster, he was there presented at the bar before the said commissioners, being all set ready in their places against his coming, whose names were these, Sir Thomas Audley knight, lord chancellor of England,  
Charles

Charles duke of Suffolk, Henry earl of Cumberland, Thomas earl of Wiltshire, Thomas Cromwell secretary, sir John Fitz-James chief justice of England, sir John Baldwyn chief justice of the common-pleas, sir William Paulet, sir Richard Lytster chief baron of the exchequer, sir John Porte, sir John Spelman, and sir Walter Luke late justices of the king's-bench, and sir Anthony Fitz-Herbert one of the justices of the common-pleas. Being thus presented before these commissioners, he was commanded, by the name of John Fisher late of Rochester clerk, otherwise called John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, to hold up his hand; which he did, with a most chearful countenance and rare constancy: then was his indictment read, which was very long and full of words; but the effect of it was thus, that he maliciously, treacherously, and falsely, had said these words, "The king, our sovereign lord, is not supreme head in the earth of the church of England;" and being read to the end, it was asked him, whether he was guilty of this treason, or no? whereunto he pleaded not guilty. Then was a jury of twelve men (being freeholders of Middlesex) called to try this issue, whose names were these, sir Hugh Vaughan

Vaughan knight, sir Walter Longford knight, Thomas Burbage, John Nudigate, William brown, John Hewes, Jasper Leak, John Palmer, Richard-Henry Young, Henry Lodisman, John Elrington, and George Heveningham, esquires. These twelve men being sworn to try whether the prisoner were guilty of this treason or no, at last came forth, to give evidence against him, Mr. Rich, the secret and close messenger that passed between the king and him, as ye have read before; who openly, in the presence of the judges and all the people there assembled, deposed and swore, that he heard the prisoner say in plain words, within the tower of London, "that he  
"believed in his conscience, and by his  
"learning he assuredly knew, that the  
"king neither was, nor by right could  
"be, superior in earth of the church  
"of England. And when this blessed father heard the accusations of this most wretched and false person, contrary to his former oath and promise, he was not a little astonished thereat: wherefore he said to him in this manner; "Mr. Rich,  
"I cannot but marvel to hear you come in  
"and bear witness against me of these  
"words, knowing in what secret manner  
"you came to me; but, suppose I so  
"said



“ said unto you, yet in that saying I com-  
“ mitted no treason ; for, upon what  
“ occasion, and for what cause, it might  
“ be said, yourself doth know right well :  
“ and therefore being now urged (said  
“ he) by this occasion, to open some-  
“ what of this matter, I shall desire my  
“ Lords, and others, here, to take a lit-  
“ tle patience in hearing what I shall  
“ say for myself.

“ This man (meaning Mr. Rich) came  
“ to me from the king, as he said, on a  
“ secret message with commendati-  
“ ons from his grace, declaring at large  
“ what a good opinion his majesty had of  
“ me, and how sorry he was for my trou-  
“ ble ; with many more words than are  
“ needful to be recited, because they  
“ tended so much to my praise, as I am  
“ not only ashamed to hear them, but  
“ also knew right well that I could no  
“ way deserve them : at last he broke  
“ with me of the matter of the king’s  
“ supremacy, lately granted unto him by  
“ act of parliament ; to the which he  
“ said, although all the bishops in the  
“ realm have consented, except yourself  
“ alone, and also the whole court of par-  
“ liament, both spiritual and temporal,  
“ except a very few : yet he told me,  
“ that the king, for better satisfaction  
K “ of

“ of his own conscience, had sent him  
“ unto me in this secret manner, to know  
“ my full opinion in the matter, for the  
“ great affiance he had in me more than  
“ any other: he added further, that if I  
“ would herein frankly and freely adver-  
“ tise his majesty my knowledge, that  
“ upon certificate of my misliking, he  
“ was very like to retract much of his  
“ former doings, and make satisfaction  
“ for the same, in case I should soad-  
“ vertise him. When I had heard all  
“ his message, and considered a little up-  
“ on his words, I put him in mind of  
“ the new act of parliament, which  
“ standing in force as it doth against  
“ all them that shall directly say or do  
“ any thing that is against it, might there-  
“ by endanger me very much, in case I  
“ should utter unto him any thing that  
“ were offensive against the law. To that  
“ he told me, that the king willed him to  
“ assure me on his honour, and on the word  
“ of a king, that whatever I should say un-  
“ to him by this his sacred messenger, I  
“ should abide no danger, no peril for it,  
“ neither that any advantage should be ta-  
“ ken against me for the same; no, although  
“ my words were never so directly a-  
“ gainst the statute, seeing it was but  
“ a declaration of my mind secretly to  
“ him, as to his own person: and for the  
the

“ the messenger himself, he gave me his  
“ faithful promise that he would never  
“ utter my words in this matter to any  
“ man living, but to the king alone.  
“ Now therefore my lords, quoth he,  
“ seeing it pleased the king's majesty to  
“ send to me thus secretly, under the  
“ pretence of plain and true meaning,  
“ to know my poor advice and opinion  
“ in these his weighty and great affairs,  
“ which I most gladly was, and ever  
“ will be, willing to send him in; me-  
“ thinks it is very hard justice to hear the  
“ messenger's accusation, and to allow  
“ the same as a sufficient testimony against  
“ me in case of treason.” To this the  
messenger made no direct answer; but  
(neither denying his words as false, nor  
confessing them as true) said, that, what-  
ever he had said unto him on the king's be-  
half, he said no more than his majesty  
commanded; and “ (said he) if I had said  
“ to you in such sort as you have declared I  
“ would gladly know what discharge this  
“ is to you in law against his majesty, for  
“ so directly speaking against the statute.”  
Whereat some of the judges taking quick  
hold one after another, said, “ that this  
“ message, or promise from the king to  
“ him, neither could, nor did, by ri-  
“ gour of the law, discharge him; but  
“ in so declaring of his mind and con-  
K 2 “ science



“ science against the supremacy, yea,  
“ though it were at the king’s own  
“ commandment or request, he committed  
“ treason by the statute; and nothing  
“ can discharge him from death but the  
“ king’s pardon.”

This good father, perceiving the small account made of his words, and the favourable credit given to his accuser, might then easily find in which doore the wind blew; wherefore, directing his speeches to the lords his judges, he said  
“ yet I pray you, my lords consider,  
“ that by all equity, justice, worldly honesty, and courteous dealing, I cannot (as the case standeth) be directly  
“ charged therewith, as with treason,  
“ though I had spoken the words indeed  
“ the same being not spoken maliciously  
“ but in the way of advice and counsel,  
“ when it was requested of me by the  
“ king himself: and that favour the very words of the statute do give me, being made only against such as shall  
“ maliciously gainsay the king’s supremacy, and none other: wherefore, although by rigour of law you may take  
“ occasion thus to condemn me, yet I  
“ hope you cannot find law except you  
“ add rigour to that law to cast me  
“ down; which herein I hope I have  
“ not deserved.” To which it was answered

swered by some of the judges, that the  
 “ word maliciously is but a superfluous  
 “ and void word; for if a man speak a-  
 “ gainst the king’s supremacy by any  
 “ manner of means, that speaking is to  
 “ be understood, and taken in law, as  
 “ maliciously.”

“ My lords (said he), if the law be  
 “ so understood, then it is a hard expofi-  
 “ tion, and (as I take it) contrary to the  
 “ meaning of them that made the law.  
 “ But then let me demand this queltion,  
 “ whether a fingle testimony of one  
 “ man may be admitted as fufficient to  
 “ prove me guilty of treason for speak-  
 “ ing thefe words, or no? and whether  
 “ my answer, negatively, may not be  
 “ accepted againft his affirmative, to my  
 “ avail and benefit, or no?” To that  
 the judges and lawyers answered (that be-  
 ing the king’s cafe) “ it refted much in  
 “ the confcience and difcretion of the  
 “ jury; and as they, upon the evidence  
 “ given before them, fhall find it, you  
 “ are either to be acquitted, or elfe by  
 “ judgment to be condemned.” The jury  
 having heard all this fimple evidence,  
 departed (according to the order) into  
 a fecret place, there to agree upon the  
 verdict: but, before they went from the  
 place, the cafe was fo aggravated to

them by my lord chancellor, making it  
so heinous and dangerous a treason,  
that they easily perceived what verdict  
they must return; otherwise heap such  
danger upon their own heads, as none  
of them were willing to undergo: some  
other of the commissioners charged this  
most reverend man with obstinacy and  
singularity; alledging, that he, being  
but one man, did presumptuously stand  
against that which was in the great  
council of parliament agreed upon, and  
finally was consented unto by all the bi-  
shops of this realm, saving himself alone.  
But to that he answered, " that indeed  
" he might well be accounted singular,  
" if he alone should stand in this mat-  
" ter as they said; but having on his  
" part the rest of the bishops in christen-  
" dom, far surmounting the number  
" of the bishops of England, he said,  
" they could not justly account him  
" singular; and having on his part all  
" the catholicks and bishops of the  
" world, from Christ's ascension till  
" now, joined with the whole consent  
" of Christ's universal church, I must  
" needs (said he) account my own part  
" far the surer: and as for obstinacy,  
" which is likewise objected against me,  
" I have no way to clear my self there-  
of,



“ of, but my own solemn word and  
 “ promise to the contrary, if ye please  
 “ to believe; or else, if that will not  
 “ serve, I am here ready to confirm  
 “ the same by my oath.” Thus in ef-  
 fect he answered their objections, though  
 with many more words both wisely and  
 profoundly uttered, and that with a mar-  
 vellous, courageous, and rare constancy;  
 insomuch as many of his hearers, yea, some  
 of his judges, lamented so grievously,  
 that their inward sorrow on all sides,  
 was expressed by the outward tears in  
 their eyes, to perceive such a famous  
 and reverend man in danger to be con-  
 demned to a cruel death, upon so weak  
 evidence given by such an accuser, con-  
 trary to all faith and promise of the  
 king himself. But all pity, mercy, and  
 right being set aside, rigour, cruelty, and  
 malice took place; for the twelve men  
 being shortly returned from their consul-  
 tation, verdict was given that he was  
 guilty of the treason; which although  
 they thus did, upon the menacing and  
 threatening words of the commissioners,  
 the king’s learned council; yet was it, no  
 doubt, full sore against their conscience,  
 as some of them would after report to  
 their dying days, only for safety of their  
 goods and lives, which they were well

assured to lose, in case they had acquitted him. After the verdict thus given by the twelve men, the lord chancellor, commanding silence to be kept, said unto the prisoner in this sort, " my lord  
" of Rochester, you have been here arraigned of high treason; and, putting  
" yourself to the tryal of twelve men,  
" you have pleaded not guilty; and they,  
" notwithstanding, have found you guilty  
" in their conscience, wherefore, if you  
" have any more to say for your self, you  
" are now to be heard, or else to receive  
" judgment according to the order and  
" course of law." Then said this blessed father again, " truly, my lord, if that  
" which I have before spoken be not  
" sufficient, I have no more to say, but  
" only to desire Almighty God to forgive them that have thus condemned  
" me; for I think they know not what  
" they have done." Then my lord chancellor, framing himself to a solemnity in countenance, proclaimed sentence of death upon him in manner and form following: " You shall be led to the  
" place from whence you came, and  
" from thence shall be drawn through  
" the city to the place of execution at  
" Tyburn, where your body shall be  
" hanged by the neck; half alive you  
shall

“ shall be cut down and thrown to the  
“ ground; your bowels to be taken out of  
“ your body before you, being alive; your  
“ head to be smitten off, and your body to  
“ be divided into four quarters; and after,  
“ your head and quarters to be set up, where  
“ the king shall appoint; and God have  
“ mercy upon your soul.

After the pronouncing of this cruel sentence, the lieutenant of the Tower, with his band of men, stood ready to receive and carry him back again to his prison. Before his departure he desired audience of the commissioners for a few words; which being granted, he said thus in effect, “ My lords,  
“ I am here condemned before you of high  
“ treason, for denial of the king’s supremacy over the church of England; but  
“ by what order of justice I leave to God,  
“ who is the searcher both of the king’s  
“ majesty’s conscience and yours. Nevertheless, being found guilty (as it is termed) I am, and must be, contented with  
“ all that God shall send; to whose will I  
“ wholly refer and submit myself. And  
“ now, to tell you more plainly my mind  
“ touching this matter of the king’s supremacy, I think indeed, and always have  
“ thought, and do now lastly affirm, that  
“ his grace cannot justly claim any such supremacy over the church of God, as he

K s

now



“ now taketh upon him; neither hath it  
“ ever been seen or heard of, that any tem-  
“ poral prince, before his days, hath pre-  
“ sumed to that dignity: wherefore, if the  
“ king will now adventure himself in pro-  
“ ceeding in this strange and unwonted  
“ case, no doubt but he shall deeply incur  
“ the grievous displeasure of Almighty  
“ God, to the great damage of his own  
“ soul, and of many others; and to the  
“ utter ruin of this realm, committed to  
“ his charge; whereof will ensue some  
“ sharp punishment at his hand: where-  
“ fore, I pray God, his grace may remem-  
“ ber himself in time, and hearken to  
“ good counsel, for the preservation of  
“ himself and his realm, and the quietness  
“ of all Christendom”. Which words be-  
ing ended, he was conveyed back again to  
the Tower of London, partly on foot, and  
partly on horseback, with a number of men  
bearing halberds and other weapons about  
him, as was before at his coming to arraignment: and when he was come to the Tower-  
gate, he turned him back to all his train that  
had thus conducted him forward and back-  
ward, and said unto them, “ my masters, I  
“ thank you all for the great labour and  
“ pains ye have taken with me this day.  
“ I am not able to give you any thing in  
“ recompence, for I have nothing left;  
and

“and therefore, I pray you, accept in  
“good part my hearty thanks”. And  
this he spake with so lusty a courage,  
so amiable a countenance, and with so  
fresh and lively a colour, as he seemed  
rather to have come from some great feast,  
or banquet, than from his arraignment,  
shewing by all his gesture, and outward  
countenance, nothing else but joy and  
gladness.

Thus being after his condemnation, the  
space of three or four days, in his prison,  
he occupied himself in continual prayer  
most fervently; and although he looked  
daily for death, yet could ye not have  
perceived him one whit dismayed there-  
at, neither in word nor countenance, but  
still continued his former trade of constan-  
cy and patience; and that rather with a  
more joyful cheer, and free mind, than  
ever he had done before; which appeared  
well by this chance that I will tell you.  
There happened a false rumour to rise  
suddenly among the people, that he should  
be brought to his execution by a certain  
day; whereupon his cook, that was wont  
to dress his dinner and carry it daily un-  
to him, hearing, among others, of his  
execution, dressed him no dinner at all  
that day; wherefore, at the cook's next  
repair unto him, he demanded the cause  
why

why he brought him not his dinner as he was wont to do? Sir, said the cook, it was commonly talked all the town over, that you should have died that day; and therefore I thought it but in vain to dress any thing for you. “ Well, said he merrily unto him again, for all that report thou seeest me yet alive; and therefore, whatsoever news thou shalt hear of me hereafter, let me no more lack my dinner, but make it ready as thou art wont to do; and, if thou see me dead when thou comest, then eat it thyself; but I promise thee, if I be alive, I mind, by God’s Grace, to eat never a bit the less”.

Thus, while this blessed bishop lay daily expecting the hour of his death, the king (who no less desired his death than himself looked for it) caused at last a writ of execution to be made, and brought to sir Edmond Walsingham, lieutenant of the Tower. But, where by his judgment at Westminster he was condemned (as ye have read before) to drawing, hanging, and quartering, as traytors always use to be, yet was he spared from that cruel execution; wherefore order was taken that he should be led no farther than Tower-Hill, and there to have his head struck off.

After



After the lieutenant had received this bloody writ, he called unto him certain persons whose service and presence were to be used in that business, commanding them to be ready against the next day in the morning: and because that was very late in the night, and the prisoner asleep, he was loth to disquiet him of his rest for that time; and so in the morning, before five of the clock, he came to him in his chamber in the Bell-tower, finding him yet asleep in his bed, and waked him, shewing him that he was come to him on a message from the king; and, after some circumstance used with persuasion, that he should remember himself to be an old man, and that for age he could not, by course of nature, live long; he told him at last, that he was come to signify unto him, that the king's pleasure was, he should suffer death that forenoon. "Well, quoth this  
"blessed father, if this be your errand, you  
"you bring me no great news; for I have  
"long time looked for this message: I  
"most humbly thank his majesty, that  
"it pleaseth him to rid me from all this  
"worldly business; and I thank you also  
"for your tidings". But I pray you, Mr. lieutenant, said he, when is mine hour that I must go hence? your hour, said the lieutenant, must be nine of the clock:  
and

and what hour is it now, said he? it is now about five, said the lieutenant. Well then, said he, let me, by your patience, sleep an hour or two; for I have slept very little this night: and yet to tell you the truth not for any fear of death (I thank God), but by reason of my great infirmity and weakness. The king's further pleasure is, said the lieutenant, that you should use as little speech as may be, especially any thing touching his majesty whereby the people should have any cause to think of him, or his proceedings, otherwise than well: for that, said he, you shall see me order myself so, as, by God's grace, neither the king, nor any man else, shall have occasion to mislike of my words. With which answer the lieutenant departed from him; and so the prisoner falling again to rest, slept soundly two hours and more. And after he was waked he called to his man to help him up: but first of all he commanded him to take away the shirt of hair (which accustomably he wore on his back) and to convey it privily out of the house; and, instead thereof, to lay him forth a clean white shirt, and all the best apparel he had, as cleanly brushed as may be; and as he was arraying himself, his man, perceiving in him a more curiosity and care for the fine and cleanly wearing of his apparel that

that day, than ever was wont to be before, demanded of him what this sudden change meant? saying that his lordship knew well enough he must put off all again within two hours, and lose it. "What of that," said he? dost thou not mark, that this is "our marriage-day, and that it behoveth us therefore to use more cleanliness for "solemnity of the marriage-sake".

About nine of the clock the lieutenant came again to his prisoner; and, finding him almost ready, said, that he was come now for him. I will wait upon you straight, said he, as fast as this thin body of mine will give me leave: then said he to his man, reach me my furred tippet, to put about my neck. O my lord, said the lieutenant, what need you be so careful for your health for this little time, being (as yourself knoweth) not much above an hour? I think no otherwise, said this blessed father; but yet in the mean time I will keep myself as well as I can, till the very time of my execution: for, I tell you truth, though I have (I thank our Lord) a very good desire, and a willing mind to die at this present, and so I trust of his infinite mercy and goodness, he will continue it; yet will I not willingly hinder my health, in the mean time, one minute of an hour; but still prolong the same as long as I can, by  
such



such reasonable ways and means as Almighty God hath provided for me. With that, taking a little book in his hand, which was a New Testament lying by him, he made a cross on his forehead, and went out of his prison-door with the lieutenant, being so weak that he was scarce able to go down stairs: wherefore at the stairs-foot he was taken up in a chair between two of the lieutenant's men, and carried to the Tower-gate, with a great number of weapons about him, to be delivered to the sheriffs of London for execution: and as they were come to the uttermost precinct of the liberty of the Tower, they rested there with him a space, till such time as one was sent before to know in what readiness the sheriffs were to receive him: during which space he rose out of his chair, and, standing on his feet, leaned his shoulder to the wall; and lifting his eyes towards heaven, opened his little book in his hand, and said, "O Lord, this is the  
 " last time that ever I shall open this book!  
 " let some comfortable place now chance  
 " unto me, whereby I thy poor servant  
 " may glorify thee in this my last hour"! and with that, looking into the book, the first thing that came to his sight were these words, *Hæc est autem vita æterna, ut te cognoscant, solum verum Deum, & quem*  
*miseristi*

*misisti Jesum Christum. Ego te glorificavi super terram opus consummavi quod dedisti mihi ut facerem: et nunc clarifica tu me, Pater, apud te ipsum claritate quam habui priusquam, &c.* and with that he shut the book together, and said, "Here is even learning enough for me to my life's end". And so, the sheriffs being ready for him, he was taken up again among certain of the sheriffs men, with a new and much greater company of weapons than was before, and carried to the scaffold on the Tower-hill, otherwise called East-Smithfield, himself praying all the way, and recording upon the words which he before had read: and when he was come to the foot of the scaffold, they that carried him offered to help him up the stairs. But then, said he, nay, masters, seeing I am come so far, let me alone, and ye shall see me shift for my self well enough; and so went up the stairs, without any help, so lively, that it was marvellous to them that knew before of his debility and weakness; but as he was mounting up the stairs, the south-east sun shined very bright in his face, whereupon he said to himself these words, lifting up his hands: *Accedite ad eum, & illuminamini; & facies vestrae non confundentur.* By that time he was upon the scaffold, it was about ten of the clock, where  
the

the executioner being ready to do his office, kneeled down to him (as the fashion is) and asked him forgiveness: "I forgive thee, said he, with all my heart, and I trust thou shalt see me overcome this storm lustily". Then was his gown and tippet taken from him, and he stood in his doublet and hose, in sight of all the people, whereof was no small number assembled to see this execution: there was to be seen a long, lean, and slender body, having on it little other substance besides skin and bones, insomuch as most part of the beholders marvelled much to see a living man so far consumed; for he seemed a very image of Death, and as it were death in man's shape, using a man's voice: and therefore it was thought the king was something cruel to put such a man to death, being so near his end, and to kill that which was dying already; except it were for pity-sake to rid him of his pain.

When the innocent and holy man was come upon the scaffold, he spake to the people in effect as followeth:

"Christian people, I am come hither to die for the faith of Christ's holy catholic church; and I thank God hitherto my stomach hath served me very well thereunto, so that yet I have not feared death: wherefore I desire you all to help  
" and



“ and assist with your prayers, that at the  
 “ very point and instant of death’s stroke,  
 “ I may in that very moment stand stead-  
 “ fast without fainting in any one point of  
 “ the catholick faith, free from any fear.  
 “ And I beseech Almighty God, of his in-  
 “ finite goodness to save the king and this  
 “ realm; and that it may please him to  
 “ hold his hand over it, and send the king  
 “ good council.”

These, or the like, words he spake, with  
 such a chearful countenance, such a stout  
 and constant courage, and such a reverend  
 gravity; that he appeared to all men, not only  
 void of fear, but also glad of death. Be-  
 sides this, he uttered his words so distinctly,  
 and with so loud and clear a voice, that the  
 people were astonished thereat, and noted  
 it for a miraculous thing, to hear so plain  
 and audible a voice come from so weak and  
 sickly an old body; for the youngest man  
 in that presence, being in good and perfect  
 health, could not have spoken to be better  
 heard and perceived, than he was. Then,  
 after these few words by him uttered, he kneel-  
 ed down on both his knees and said certain  
 prayers, among which one was the hymn  
 of *Te Deum laudamus*, to the end of the  
 Psalm *In te, Domine, speravi*. Then  
 came the executioner, and bound a hand-  
 kerchief about his eyes; and so this holy  
 father

father lifting up his hands and heart towards heaven, said a few prayers which were not long, but fervent and devout: which being ended, he laid his head down on the middle of a little block, where the executioner, being ready, with a sharp and heavy ax cut asunder his slender neck at one blow; which bled so abundantly, that many wonder'd to see so much blood issue out of so slender and lean a body.

As concerning the head, the executioner put it into a bag, and carried it away with him, meaning to have set it on the bridge that night, as he was commanded. The lady Anne Bullen (who was the chief cause of this holy man's death) had a certain desire to see the head before it was set up; whereupon, being brought unto her, she beheld it a space, and, at last, contemptuously said these or the like words: "Is this the head that so often exclaimed against me? I trust it shall never do more harm:" and with that, striking it upon the mouth with the back of her hand, she hurt one of her fingers upon a tooth that stuck somewhat more out than the rest did; which finger after grew sore, and putting her to pain many days after, was nevertheless cured at last, with much difficulty: but, after it was healed, the mark of the hurt place

place remained to be seen, when her own head was not to be seen upon her shoulders.

This may seem strange, as a rare example of cruel boldness in that sex, which by nature is fearful, and cannot behold such spectacles; and therefore argueth (no doubt) a wonderful malice which she, by likelihood, bare to the holy man living, that could thus cruelly use his head being dead. Then the executioner, stripping the body of his shirt and all his cloaths, departed thence, leaving the headless carcass naked upon the scaffold, where it remained after that sort for the most part of that day; saving that one for pity and humanity sake, cast a little straw over his privities: and about eight of the clock in the evening commandment came from the king's commissioners to such as watched about the dead body (for it was still watched with many halberds and weapons) that they should cause it to be buried. Whereupon two of the watchers took it upon a halberd between them, and so carried it to a church-yard there hard by, called Alhallows Barkin; where on the north-side of the church, hard by the wall, they digged a grave with their halberds, and therein, without any reverence, tumbled the body of this holy prelate, all naked and flat upon his belly, without either shirt, or other accustomed thing belonging to a christian



tian man's burial, and so covered it quickly with earth. And this was done on the day of St. Alban the protomartyr of England, being Tuesday the 22d of June in the year of our redemption, 1535. and in the 27th year of the king's reign, after he had lived full threescore and sixteen years, nine months and odd days.

The next day after his burying, the head, being parboiled, was pricked upon a pole and set on high upon London-bridge, among the rest of the holy Carthusians heads that suffered death lately before him. And here I cannot omit to declare unto you the miraculous sight of this head, which after it had stood up the space of fourteen days upon the bridge, could not be perceived to waste nor consume, neither for the weather, which then was very hot, neither for the parboiling in hot water, but grew daily fresher and fresher, so that in his life-time he never looked so well; for, his cheeks being beautified with a comely red, the face looked as though it had beholden the people passing by, and would have spoken to them; which many took for a miracle, that Almighty God was pleased to shew, above the course of nature, in this preserving the fresh and lively colour in his face, surpassing the colour he had being alive; whereby was noted to the world the innocence  
and

and holiness of this blessed father, that thus innocently was content to lose his head in defence of his Mother the holy catholick church of Christ: wherefore the people coming daily to see this strange sight, the passage over the bridge was so stoped with their going and coming, that almost neither cart nor horse could pass: and therefore at the end of fourteen days, this executioner was commanded to throw down the head in the night-time into the river of Thames; and in the place thereof was set the head of the most blessed and constant martyr, Sir Thomas More, his companion in all his troubles, who suffered his passion the 6th day of July next following.

And touching the place of his burial in Barkin church-yard, it was well observed at that time by divers worthy persons of the nations of Italy, Spain, and France, that were then abiding in the realm, and more diligently noted and wrote the course of things, and with less fear and suspicion than any of the king's subjects might or durst do, that for the space of seven years after his burial, there grew neither leaf nor grass upon his grave; but the earth still remained as bare as though it had been continually occupied and trodden.

When by common fame this bloody execution was blown abroad, straitway the  
name

name of king Henry began to grow odious among all good people, not only in his own realm at home, but also among all foreign princes and nations abroad through Christendom; insomuch that Paul III. then pope of Rome, with great grief signified these doings by several letters to all the christian princes, openly detesting the outrage of King Henry, in committing such a wicked and manifest injury, not only against the freedom and privilege of the church of Rome, but also against the whole state of Christ's universal church; for the which, in short space after, he pronounced the terrible sentence of excommunication against him.

Likewise the most noble and christian emperor Charles V. at such a time as Sir Thomas More was beheaded, and word thereof brought to him, sent speedily for Sir Thomas Eliot, the king's ambassador, there resident with him, and asked him whether he heard any such news or no? who answered him that he heard no such thing: yes, said the emperor, it is true, and too true, that Sir Thomas More is now executed to death, as a good bishop hath lately been before: and with that, giving a sigh, said, alas! what meant the king to kill two such men? for, said he, the bishop was such a one as, for all purposes,



ses, I think the king had not the like again in all his realm, neither yet was to be matched through Christendom; so that, said he, the king your master hath, in killing that bishop, killed at one blow all the bishops in England. And Sir Thomas More, said he, was well known for a man of such profound wisdom, cunning, and virtue, that, if he had been towards me as he was towards the king your master, I had rather have lost the best city in all my dominions than such a man.

And in like manner king Francis, the French king (though, in some respects, a man to be wished otherwise than he was, yet) talking on a time with Sir John Wallop, the king's ambassador, of those two blessed men, told him plainly, that the king his master had a very hard heart, that could put to death two such worthy men as the like were not again within his realm: whereof king Henry being advertised, took it very ill at the hands of king Francis, for so respecting of him, saying, that he had done nothing but what himself was first made privy to.

In stature of his body, he was tall and comely, exceeding the common and middle sort of men; for he was to the quantity of six foot in height, and being therewith very slender and lean, was neverthe-

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less

less upright and well-formed, straight-backed, big-jointed, and strongly sinewed; his hair by nature black, though in his latter time, through age and imprisonment, turned to hoariness, or rather to whiteness; his eyes large and round, neither full black nor full grey, but of a mixt colour between both; his forehead smooth and large; his nose of a good and even proportion; somewhat wide mouthed and big jawed, as one ordained to utter much speech, wherein was, notwithstanding, a certain comeliness; his skin somewhat tawny, mixed with many blue veins; his face, hands, and all his body, so bare of flesh, as is almost incredible, which came (rather as may be thought) by the great abstinence and penance he used upon himself many years together, even from his youth. In his countenance he bare such a reverend gravity, and therewith in his doings exercised such discreet severity, that not only of his equals, but even of his superiors, he was honoured and feared: in speech he was very mild, temperate, and modest, saving in matters of God and his charge, which then began to trouble the world, and therein he would be earnest above his accustomed order; but vainly, or without cause, he would never speak, neither was his ordinary talk of common worldly matters, but rather  
of

of divinity and the high power of God ; of the joys of heaven, and the pains of hell ; of the glorious death of martyrs, and strait life of confessors ; with such like virtuous and profitable talk, which he always uttered with such a heavenly grace, that his words were always a great edifying to his hearers. He had such a continual impression of death in his heart, that his mouth never ceased to utter the inward thoughts of his mind, not only in all times of his exercise, but also at his meals ; for he would always say, that the remembrance of death never came out of season : and of his own end, he would now and then (as occasion of speech was given) cast out such words, as though he had some fore-knowledge of the manner of his death ; for divers of his chaplains and household-servants have reported, that, long before his death, they have heard him say, that he should not die in his bed : but always in speaking thereof, he would utter his words with such a chearful countenance, as they might easily perceive him rather to conceive joy than sorrow thereat. In study, he was very laborious and painful ; in preaching, assiduous, ever beating down heresies and vice ; in prayer most fervent and devout ; in fasting, abstinence, and punishing of his lean body,



rigorous without measure; and generally, in all things belonging to the care and charge of a true bishop, he was, to all the bishops of England living in his days, the very mirror and lantern of light.

One that was dean of Rochester many years together, named Mr. Philips, in the days of king Edward VI. when certain commissioners were coming towards him to search his house for books, he, for fear, burned a large volume, which this holy bishop had compiled, containing in it the whole story and matter of the divorce; which volume he gave him with his own hand a little before his trouble: for the loss whereof the dean would many times after lament, and with the whole again, upon condition he had not one groat to live on.

Pope Paul III. writing (as before is said) to the princes of Christendom of the dealings of king Henry against this godly man, wrote, among others, one letter to Ferdinando king of the Romans, which I myself have seen and read. In this letter, after great complaint made of king Henry for killing of such a man, whom he before, for his great sanctity and virtue, had enrolled in the number and society of the cardinals, hoping thereby that all should have turned to his better safety and deliverance, because  
that

that dignity in all places hath ever been accounted sacred; yet now falling out otherwise, he taketh occasion to compare the doings of king Henry VIII. to the doings of his progenitor king Henry II. and this holy father he compareth, or rather preferreth, to the holy martyr St. Thomas of Canterbury; saying, that his king Henry did not only renew the impiety of that king, but also went far beyond him: for where he slew one, this slew many: St. Thomas defended the right of one particular church; this of the universal: that king killed an archbishop; but this king hath put to death a cardinal of the holy church of Rome: that king exiled St. Thomas by long banishment; but this king tormented this holy man by long and hard imprisonment: he sent unto St. Thomas certain hired men to kill him; to this was assigned only a hangman: he caused St. Thomas to be slain by a forcible death; but this, by a shameful torment, hath killed the holy man of God: he (in conclusion) sought to purge himself before Alexander III. and laying fault upon others, did with humility take upon him such penance, as was to him enjoined by the bishop of Rome; but this with a most obstinate mind, defended his own horrible fact, shewing himself not only unwilling to do penance, but also becometh a stubborn

and rebellious enemy against the church of Rome.

Then consider what that man of happy memory (Cardinal Pool) writeth of him in sundry places of his works, who in his lifetime both knew him and was familiarly acquainted with him, but especially in that book which he wrote to king Henry VIII. intituled, *pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis defensione*, wherein he extolleth the name of this blessed prelate, with words according to his great worthiness; saying to the king, that, “ if an ambassador had been to be  
“ sent from earth to heaven, there could  
“ not among all the bishops and clergy so  
“ fit a man be chosen as he; for what o-  
“ ther man, saith he, have ye presently,  
“ or of many years past had, comparable  
“ with him in sanctity, learning, wisdom,  
“ and careful diligence in the office and  
“ duty of a bishop? of whom ye may just-  
“ ly, above all other nations, glory and  
“ rejoyce, that, if all the corners of Christen-  
“ dom were narrowly sought, there could  
“ not be found out any one man that in  
“ all things did accomplish the parts and  
“ degrees of a bishop equal with him.”  
Further, in the same place he laudeth him highly for his great travel and care in the education of youth, especially of the young students in the university of Cambridge;  
for



for that, by his only means and motion, that noble and right virtuous lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, sometimes his mistress, erected two famous colleges in that university (as before in this history hath been declared) wherein young scholars receive great comfort towards their instruction in learning; unto which number himself became also a very patron and father: and, being after chosen by the whole consent of the university into the room of their high chancellor, he became no less careful over them, than over the flock of his diocess. All which, with many other high praises, this most virtuous, learned, and high-born cardinal set down very bountifully of him.

Likewise blessed Sir Thomas More, his companion and fellow in adversity and trouble, upon occasion of talk, ministred unto him by his daughter Mrs. Roper, about refusing the oath by my lord of Rochester and himself, saith in a certain epistle to his said daughter, that he hath had him in such a reverend estimation, as for his wisdom, learning, and long approved virtue together, he reckoneth in this realm no one man to be matched or compared with him.

Furthermore, the renowned bishop of Nuceria, and most eloquent historiographer of our time, P. Jovius, although he lack-

eth no commendation of him, throughout all his whole history, yet in one place especially he saith, that upon the acceptance of his great charge of a bishoprick, he became so vigilant over his flock for the space of many years together, that he was to be wondered at, not only of his own country people at home, but also of all other outward nations: then he greatly reverenceth him for his constant piety, in defending the marriage between king Henry and his lawful wife queen Katharine, and for withstanding the king's wilful mind in taking upon him so absurdly the name and title of supreme head of the church; for the which he did not refuse, even in his old age, to suffer the loss of liberty, livings, life and all.

Then weigh what is said of him by that most eloquent and learned father Stanislaus Hosius, bishop of Warima in Poland, and cardinal of Rome, in his book of confutation against Brentius the heretick; his words being thus, *fatemur & nos, Brenti, &c.* wherein he sheweth very notably how, although in all ages hereticks have lifted up themselves against the church of God, yet hath he not forsaken or left her destitute at any time.

Neither hath God, in these our unfortunate days, failed his church; for, whereas  
you

you Lutherans are broken forth, and from you are sprung Zuinglians, Munserans, or Patemontans, and a number of hereticks more, God hath produced against you into the battle many worthy men endued with singular wit and excellent learning, by whom your raging madness might be suppressed and put down. Among whom especially and by name, was that famous holy man, John bishop of Rochester, who, in defence of the faith and catholick church of Christ, never stuck for the loss of his life, and the shedding of his blood.

Finally, whosoever shall read of Cochleus, Wicelius, Eckius, and others, learned writers of Germany; of the worthy bishop and eloquent writer Osorius, of Alphonfus à Castro, and others of Spain and Portugal; besides a number of such other learned fathers of many nations, whereof some lived in his own days, and some since, shall easily perceive that he was a man, for his profound learning and rare virtue, highly revered and esteemed throughout all Christendom.

And no doubt but, if his writings and doings be well compared, ye shall find him most like those holy fathers and doctors, that in the primitive church laid the very first ground and foundation of our belief, upon the which we have since rested and

L 5

stayed



stayed ourselves; whom to describe wholly and fully unto you, according to his worthiness, I will not take upon me, neither am I able to do it; yea, were I as eloquent as Cicero, or as witty and subtle as Aristotle; as copious as Demosthenes, or as profound in philosophy as Plato: such, and so innumerable were his singular virtues!

But herein I will content myself with the general commendation, which all the famous universities of divinity in Europe do give this learned man, by calling him blessed martyr, and alledging his works for great authority. Thus much I may also say, that unto Justus his predecessor, the first bishop of Rochester, he was a just and true successor; the place of his birth he doth greatly beautify with the glorious bishop of St. John of Beverley; to the county of Kent, where he was bishop, he is an ornament with St. Thomas of Canterbury; in gravity of his writing he is to be revered with St. Bede; for stout defending the right and liberty of the holy church, against the power of princes, he is not inferior to the blessed bishops St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom; in praying for his enemies and persecutors he resembleth holy St. Stephen; in constancy and stoutness of his martyrdom he was a second Cyprian, and in the manner of his death a John the baptist.

And

And now we shall observe the wonderful working of Almighty God, whole judgments are secret and strange in our sight, much to be marked and noted in him and his adherents: for, as God of his own nature is patient and long-suffering, because he expecteth the amendment of our sinful lives, so is he also just in his doings, and punisheth grievously, when no amendment is endeavoured, as now may well be perceived by those persons that were persecutors of this blessed man; for they escaped not the danger of his heavy hand, as shall be declared unto you.

As first, to begin with the king himself: *in quo quis peccat, in eo punitur*; the Almighty commonly makes rods for our own sins, wherewith he often punisheth those that offend him; as here most notably it is to be observed in the three-fold manner of his displeasure, which induced him to be so cruel to this good man, that nothing but the pains of death could satisfy his ireful indignation: as first, for resisting his so inordinate desire of changing wives: Secondly, for his refusing to take the oath of succession, and his constant disapprovment of the unlawful courses which he took to procure to himself issue male: Thirdly, for withstanding his supremacy in causes ecclesiastical. These were the three causes  
of

of his displeasure, which, like a trident, he struck into the breast of innocence, while the three-pointed scepter made their several entries within his own bosom. For the first, he that robbed so many breasts of the possession of so great a joy and happiness in being his, through his desire of change, found change a robbery to his own heart's contentment, in so many wives which lawfully were none of his; for of the six bells whereon he rung this change, two of them were repudiate, two beheaded, one wittingly killed, and the last so displeasing to him, as he had determined to have sent her to the Tower; so far onward in her way to her predecessors fates, had not his approaching death caused her to survive.

As to the second, *viz.* the unlawful means which he took to have succession by his issue male, those females whom he illegitimated, succeeded, and his issue male deceased, that they might succeed.

As to the third, *viz.* his assuming and taking upon him the supremacy of the church, whose doings herein were neither approved by the Roman party (as monstrous in their opinions) nor by the Lutherans and Zuinglians, as different from theirs; but what the holy martyr conjectured thereupon it came to pass; for said he in the convocation-house (when this business was in scanning)  
the



the king desires that we would make him head of the church; his successors will expect to be the like: what if his successor should chance to be a child, or a woman? how shall we be governed by such? And accordingly the Almighty, to shew us the ridiculousness of the usurpation, left him none but women and a child to succeed him in that office; women that could not speak, and a child that knew not how, in the church of God; till at length he had neither male nor female to sit any more upon the throne than in the chair, death having made all their hands (issueless) as unapt to sway the scepter, as improper for the keys.

Lastly, I shall produce before your eyes, his last will and testament; with some observations upon the same.

A copy

Dec. 30.  
1546.  
38. Hen. 8.

*A copy of Henry viii<sup>th</sup>'s  
will, taken from the exempli-  
fication that was enrolled in  
Chancery,*

*Irro in dors' claus' cancellar' dñi nři Regis  
Edwardi sexti de Anno Regni sui primo.*

Henry R.

**I**N THE NAME OF GOD, and of the  
Glorious and Blessed Virgin our Lady  
Saint Mary, and of all the Holy Compa-  
ny of Heaven.

WE HENRY, by the Grace of God, King  
of England, Fraunce and Irelande, Defendeur  
of the Faith, and in Erth immediately un-  
der God the *supreme Hed of the Church of*  
*England and Irelande* of that Name Theight,  
calling to our Remembraunce the great  
Giftes and Benefits of Almighty God given  
unto us in this transitory Lief, give unto  
him our most lowly and humble Thanks,  
knowledging our self insufficient in any part  
to deserve or recompense the same, but feare  
that we have not worthely received the same.

And considering further also with our self,  
that we be, as all Mankind is, mortal and  
born in Sinne, beleving nevertheles and  
hoping

hoping that every Christien Creature lyving here in this transitory and wretched Woorld under God, dying in stedfast and persaiſt faith, endeavoring and exercising himself to execute in his lief tyme, if he have Leasur, such good dedes and charitable Works, as Scripture commandeth, and as may be to the Honour and Pleasure of God, is ordeyned by Christes Passion to be saved, and to atteyn eternell Lief; of which Nombre we verily trust by his Grace to be oon. And that every Creature, the more high that he is in Estate Honor and Authority in this Woorld, the more he is bounde to love serve and thank God, and the more diligently to endeavour himself to do good and charitable Workes to the Lawde Honour and Praise of Almighty God, and the Profit of his Sowle.

We also, calling to our Remembraunce the Dignite Estate Honour Rule and Gouernance that Almighty God hath called us unto in this Woorld, and that neither We, nor any other Creature mortall, knoweth the Tyme Place whenne ne where it shall pleas Almighty God to call him out of this transitory Woorld. Willing therefore and minding with Godes Grace before our Passage out of the same, to dispose and ordre our latter Mynd Will and Testament in that sort as we trust it shall be acceptable to Almighty



mighty God our only Savyour Iesus Christ, and all the hole Company of Heaven, and the due Satesfaction of all godly Brethren in Erth, have therefore, now being of hole and perfaict Mynd, adhering holy to the right faith of Christ and his Doctrine, repenting also our old and detestable Lief, and being in perfaict Will and Mynd, by his grace never to return to the same nor such like; and minding by Godes Grace never to very therefro as long as any Remembraunce Breth or inward Knowledge doth or may remayn within this mortall Body, moost humbly and hartly do commend and bequeyth our Soull to Almighty God, who in Personne of the Sonne redeemed the same with his moost precious Body and Blood in Tyme of his Passion, and for our better Remembraunce thereof, hath left here with us in his Church Militant the Consecration and Administraction of his precious Body and Blood, to our no little Consolation and Comfort, if we as thankfully accept the same, as he lovingly and undeserved on Man's behalf, hath ordeyned it for our only Benefit, and not his.

Also we do instantly requyre and desire the Blessed Virgin Mary his Mother, with all the holy Company of Heaven continually to Pray for us and with us whiles we lyve in this Woorld, and in the Tyme of passing

passing out of the same, that we may the sooner attayne everlasting Lief after our Departure out of this transitory Lief, which we do both hope and clayme by Christes Passion and Woord.

And as for my Body, which, whenne the Soul is departed, shall thenne remayn but as a Cadaver, and so return to the vile Matter it was made of, were it not for the Rowme and Dignitye, which God hath called us unto, and that we would not be noted an Infringer of honest worldly Policies and Custumes, whenne they be not contrary to Godes Lawes, We would be content to have it buried in any Place for Christien Folks, were it never so vile; for it is but Ashes, and to Ashes it shall again.

Nevertheles, bicaus we would be lothe in the Reputation of the People, to do Injurye to the Dignite, which we unworthily are callid unto, We are content, and also, by these Presentes our last Will and Testament, do will and ordeyn, that our Body be buried and enterred in the Quere of our College of Windesour, midway between the *Stalles* and the high *Aultare* and there to be made and sette, assone as conveniently may be doon after our Deceasse, by our Executors, at our Costes and Charge, if it be not done by us in our Lief-time, an honourable Tombe for our  
Bones

Bones to rest in, which is well onward and almoost made therfor alreedye, with a fayre Grate about it; in which we will also, that the Bones and Body of our true and loving Wife Quene Jane be put also; and that there be provided, ordeyned, made and sett, at the Costes and Charges of us, or of our Executors, if it be not done in our Lyf, a convenient Aulter, honourably prepared, and apparailled with all Maner of Thinges requisite and necessary for Dayly Masses, there to be sayd perpetually, while the Woorld shal endure.

Also we will, that the Tombes and Aulter of *King Henry the Sixth*, and also of *King Edward the Fourth*, our Great Uncle and Graunt-Father, be made more Princely, in the same Place where they now be, at our Charge.

And also will and specially desyre and requyre, that where and whensoever it shall please God to call us out of this Woorld transitory to his infinite Mercy and Grace, be it beyonde the See, or in any other Place without our Realm of England, or within the same, that our executors, assone as conveniently they may, shall cause all Divine Service accustomed for dead Folke to be celebrate for us, in the nixt and moost propire Place where it shall fortune us to depart out of this transitory Lief.

And



And over that we will, that whensoever or wheresoever it shall pleas God to call us out of this transitory Lief to his infinite Mercy and Grace, be it within this Realme or without, that our Executors, in as goodly brief and convenient hast, as they reasonably canne or may, ordeyn prepare and cause our Body to be removed, conveyed, and brought into the said College of Wyndesour; and the Service of *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with a Sermon and Masse on the Morrowe, at our Costs and Charges, devoutly to be don observed and solemply kept, there to be buried and enterred in the Place appointed for our sayd Tombe, to be made for the same Entent; and all this to be doon, in as devout wise as canne, or may be doon; and We will and charge our Executors, that they dispose and give in Aulmes to the moost poore and neddy People that may be found (commyn Beggars as moch as may be avoided) in as short Space as possibly they may, after our Departure out of this transitory Lief, *Oon Thousand Markes* of Lafull Money of England, Part in the same Place and thereabouts, where it shall pleas Almighty God to call Us to his Mercy, Part by the way, and Part in the same Place of our Buryall, after their Discretions; and to move the poore People that shall have our Almez to pray hartly unto God-

God for Remission of our Offences and the Wealth of our Soul.

Also we woll, that with as convenient Spede as may be doon after our Departure out of this Woorld, if it be not doon in our Life, that the *Deane and Channons* of our Free Chaple of Sainct George, within our Castle of Windesfor, shall have Manours, Lands, Tenements, and spiritual Promotions, to the yerely Value of *Sixe hundred Poundes*, over all Charge made sure to them, to them and their Successours for ever, upon these Conditions hereafter en-fuying.

And for the due and full Accomplishment and parformaunce of all other Things conteyned with the same, in the Forme of an Indenture, signed with our own Hande, which shall be passed by way of Covenaut for that Purpose, between the sayd *Deane and Cannons*, and our Executors, if it passe not between Us and the sayd

*Deane and Cannons in our Lifes; In<sup>r</sup> Lin<sup>r</sup>.*

*that is to saye, the sayd Deane and Cannons*, and their Successours for ever, shall fynde twoo Prestes to say Masses at the sayd Aulter, to be made where we have before appointed our Tombe to be made and stand; and also, after our Deceasse, kepe yerely Four solemne Obites for Us within the sayd College of Windesfour;

four; and at every of the same Obites, to cause a solempne Sermon to be made. And also, at every of the sayd Obites to give to poore People in Almez Tenne Pounds.

And also to give for ever yerely, to thirtene poore Men, which shall be called *Poore Knights*, to every of them *Twelf Pens every Day*, and ones in the yere yerely for ever, a long Gounce of White Cloth, with the Garter upon the Brest, embrodered with a Shelde and Crosse of Sainct George within the Garter, and a Mantel of red Cloth; and to such one of the sayd Thirtene Poore Knights, as shall be appointed to be Hed and Governourof them, *iiij l. viij d.* yerely for ever, over and besides the sayd *Twelf Pennes by the Day*.

And also to cause every Sonday in the Yere for ever a Sermon to be made for ever at Windesour afore sayd, as in the said Indenture and Covenaut shall be more fully and particulerly exprest: Willing, charging and requiring our Sonne Prince Edward, all our Executors and Counsaillours, which shall be named hereafter, and all other our Heirs and Successors, which shall be kinges of this Realme, as they will aunswer before Almighty God at the dreadful Day of Judgment, that they, and every of them do see that the sayd Indenture and Assurance to be made betwene Us  
and



and the sayd *Deane and Channons*, or between them and our Executors, and all Things therein conteyned may be duely put in Execution, and observed and kept for ever perpetuelly, according to this our Last Will and Testament.

*The rest of his Will, wherein he disposes of the Succession, is in Substance thus:* That Edward, his Son by Jane Seymour, then nine years of age, should first succeed; then Mary his daughter by Katharine; thirdly, Elizabeth his daughter by Anne Bullen; and they dying without issue, the Succession to pass to those to whom it belonged by common right. Then he appoints for his young son sixteen tutors and guardians, with equal power, and those, for the most part catholicks, making a sort of monarchy with aristocracy. Lastly, he strictly charged, that his son should be brought up in the catholick faith, except the title of Supremacy, which he left to him; and that the kingdom should be kept clear from heresies.

HE

**H**E, that had made void so many mens wills, had his own made void in every particular. All those sixteen counsellors which he had appointed to govern the kingdom in his son's minority, either by threatenings, exclusion, or imprisonment, were all of them forced to give way to one, who wholly took upon him the government of the whole kingdom; and he, that took such care that his son should have none to be of his council but such as should be catholicks, had his will so performed, that there was one who took care that no catholick should come near him; and, when the heads of these gainsayers of his will were cut off, his son was left in tuition of such hands, as, it was verily believed, made his son away, that they might set up one upon his throne, in opposition to his own daughter: The religion wherein his son was bred and commanded to be brought up in, was changed, his laws abrogated; and he, that took so many unlawful courses to obtain issue, had so many children, who all of them died issueless.

Next to the king, I shall observe the punishment of Almighty God, which lighted heavily upon the queen (Anne Bullen) the chief and principal cause of all this woful tragedy; who in a short space was suddenly thrown down from the top of all her high dignity and honour (whose glory was exalted

alted upon this man's ruin) and, for a most vile and abominable incest committed with her own brother, condemned and accused to be worthy of death by her own father, together with divers others of her own kindred, and the nobility then sitting in judgment, who, not long before, were her idolaters, and she their idol; whereupon she was executed at Tower-hill, her head being stricken off: of whose loss the king himself took such sorrow, that, the very next day after she was dead, he mourned for her in a wedding-garment.

Next to the Queen we will call to mind Mr. Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, who of his own power, without any other warrant or authority, pronounced the sentence of divorce between the king and queen (being calculated to the height of that meridian); and afterwards called this holy man before him, and cast him into prison for refusing the two new oaths, the one of the king's new marriage, the other of the new supremacy; from whence he was never delivered, till death rid him of all worldly cares.

This archbishop lived till he was condemned for a traitor, because he spread certain seditious libels amongst the people, and assisted the duke of Northumberland in his rebellion (in the behalf of the lady Jane,



Jane) against his lawful sovereign. But, forasmuch as this was done in queen Mary's days, and the clergy had somewhat else to say to him, they burned him as a heretick.

As for Mr. Rich, the king's solicitor, and the decoy to this good man, who gave such strange and injurious testimony against him at his arraignment, he lived to be deposed from all his high places and preferments, and fell into deep disgrace, not only with the king his master, but with those who afterwards sat at the stern in the young king's time; insomuch that affliction brought him to understand, and the knowledge of himself to true repentance; so that it is to be believed that he escaped without any further punishment than the clipping of his wings whilst he was alive, and the singeing of his body when he was dead: for his dead body being laid into a coffin, seared and embalmed, certain candles that were set upon the hearse, through the watchers negligence or absence, fell down, and took hold first on the cloaths, and then upon the coffin, till at length it came unto the sear-cloaths; that, before any man could come unto the rescue, the fire was pretty onward in its way to have deceived the worms.

Lastly, we shall conclude with Mr. Cromwell, a shrewd enemy to this good man,

M

and

and a great agent in this business; a man in whose behalf the archbishop of Canterbury thus writ, in his letter to the king, after his troubles had beginning, viz. *A man that was so advanced by your majesty, whose surety was only by your majesty, who loved your majesty no less than God, who studied always to set forward whatsoever was your majesty's will and pleasure, who cared for no man's displeasure to serve your majesty who was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had the like; who was so vigilant to preserve your majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived but be detected the same in the beginning; such a man, that if the noble princes of memory, king John, Henry III. Richard I. had had such a counsellor about them, I suppose they would never have been so treacherously abandoned and overthrown, as those good princes were. Who shall your grace trust hereafter, if you mistrust him? Alas! I bewail and lament your grace's chance herein: I wot not whom your grace may trust, &c.*

And for this fidelity, ability, and good service, he was advanced successively to the dignities of master of the rolls, baron, lord privy-seal, knight of the garter, earl of Essex, lord high-chamberlain of England; and, higher than all this, vicar-general of the

the church of England, by virtue of which office he took place above them who were metropolitans of all England: and yet, notwithstanding, he was arrested at the council-table of high-treason by the duke of Norfolk, when he least suspected any such design, committed to the Tower, brought thence unto the Hill, and (without being permitted to plead for himself) there beheaded without any more ado. But the strangest thing of all is, that he that was the king's vicegerent in spiritual causes, should be accused for an heretick, and that made one of the causes of his death; and that he that was such a great enemy to the catholicks (kicking down all the religious houses of the land, and grinding the religious, together with the rubbish, under his feet) should at his death openly profess that he would die in the catholick faith.

Thus we see God's justice in the destruction of the churches enemies: who knows but that he may help her to such friends, though not such as may restore her her own jewels, yet such as may heal her of her wounds? And who knows but that it may be effected by the same name, sithence the Almighty hath communicated so great a secret unto mortals, as that there should be such a salve made known to them, whereby the same weapon that made the wound, should work the cure?

Oliva



Oliva vera is not so hard to be construed Oliverus, as that it may not be believed that a prophet, rather than a herald, gave the common father of Christendom, the now pope of Rome (Innocent x.) such ensigns of his nobility (viz. a dove holding an olive-branch in her mouth); since it falls short in nothing of being both a prophecy, and fulfilled, but only his highness running into her arms, whose emblem of innocence bears him already in her mouth.

7 JU 66

**F I N I S.**

Oliva

